

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CONQUEST
OF
MEXICO
BY THE
SPANIARDS.

Translated from the Original SPANISH of
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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE
MEXICAN
REVOLUTION

BY
WILLIAM H. STANTON
AND
JAMES M. SMITH

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C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
S E C O N D V O L U M E.

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THE
HISTORY
Of the CONQUEST of
MEXICO, or NEW SPAIN.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Moteczuma is permitted to shew himself in publick, going out to his Temples and Recreations. Cortes takes some necessary Precautions. The Spaniards are in Doubt, at this Time, whether they should overthrow the Idols of Mexico, or wait for a more proper Occasion.

FROM this Day forward *Moteczuma* remained a voluntary Prisoner of the *Spaniards*, and was beloved of all for his Courtesy and Liberality. His own Servants and Attendants had been hitherto unacquainted with his Gentleness and

Moderation, as being Virtues he had acquired by his Conversation with Strangers, and far from his own natural Temper. He very often confirmed the Sincerity of his Mind, both by Words and Actions: And when he thought he had secured and merited the Confidence of *Cortes*, he resolved to try him by asking his Permission to go sometimes to visit his Temples. He gave his Word that he would return punctually to his Prison; for so he used to call it, when none of his own People were present: He told him, "That he desired now for his own Convenience, and for the Sake of the *Spaniards* themselves, to shew himself to his Subjects; for that they began to surmise, that he was detained in that Confinement by Force, seeing the Cause of his Detention was ceased by the Punishment of *Qualpopoca*; and that it was to be feared some Commotion, more than barely popular, might happen, if he did not speedily prevent it by this Mark of his Liberty." *Hernan Cortes*, sensible how much he was in the Right, and desirous likewise to humour the *Mexicans*, answered freely and courteously, "That he might go when, and wherever he pleased, and that he attributed his making such a Request to the Excess of his Goodness, seeing both himself, and all his People, were intirely at his Service;" but he accepted the Promise he made him of not changing his Place of Residence, as one extremely desirous not to be deprived of the Honour he had received.

THE Emperor's Purpose of visiting his Temples caused some Scruples in the General; but to make the best Conditions he could, he obtained of him to abolish all human Sacrifices from that Day, contenting himself with this partial Remedy, since it was not yet Time to endeavour a total Reformation of Abuses; and where we cannot do what is best

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at once, it is Prudence to divide the Difficulty, in order to overcome it by Degrees. *Moteczuma* consented to this, effectually prohibiting those Sacrifices in all the Temples: And though it may be doubted, whether that Order was exactly complied with, yet it is certain, that there was no Breach of it in publick; and if they ever did perform them, it was with their Gates shut, as if they were doing something that was criminal.

His first Sally was to the principal Temple of the City, with his accustomed Pomp and Attendance: He took some *Spaniards* along with him, calling them himself, by way of Prevention, to avoid the Shame of having them ordered to attend him either as Guards or Witnesses of his Actions. The People celebrated this first Appearance of their Sovereign with great Acclamations of Joy; not that they truly loved him, or that they had forgot the Oppressions under which they laboured; but at this Time Duty got the better of their Inclinations, and a Crown has its Influence, although it be upon the Head of a Tyrant. He received their Acclamations with an Air of Majesty, and was that Day very liberal in bestowing Favours upon his Nobles, and likewise in distributing Gifts among the Populace. He afterwards went up to the Temple, resting on the Arms of the Priests; and having complied with some of the least scandalous Rites of his Worship, returned to the Quarters, where he again complimented the *Spaniards*, declaring, "That the Satisfaction he had in residing among them, made him no less desirous to return, than the Discharge of his Promise."

He continued to go abroad when he pleased, without any Thing extraordinary happening, sometimes to the Palace where he kept his Wives, at other Times to his Temples, and Pleasure-Houses,

always using the Ceremony of asking Leave of *Cortes*, or taking him along with him, when what he went about would decently admit of his Company; but he never lay a Night out of the Quarters, nor so much as once mentioned the Changing of his Habitation; on the contrary, the *Mexicans* began to look upon this Perseverance of their Emperor as the Effect of his Love to the *Spaniards*: So that now the Ministers and Nobles of the City visited *Cortes*, making use of his Interest to gain their Pretensions; and all the *Spaniards* that were more particularly esteemed by *Cortes*, received both Presents and Flatteries; the common Method of all Courts; where by Intreaties and Addresses, those Idols called the Prince's Favourites, are in a Manner worshipped.

DURING this Tranquillity *Cortes* did not neglect those Precautions which were thought conducive to his Security, nor to forward those high Designs which were forming in his Mind, though as yet without any determinate Object, or knowing whether the obscure Flattery of his Hopes would carry him. Immediately upon the Vacancy of the Government of *Vera-Cruz* by the Death of *Juan de Escalante*, and when the Ways were cleared from Danger by the Punishment of the Criminals, he named Captain *Gonzalo de Sandoval* for that Employment: And because in the present Posture of Affairs he would not part with so serviceable a Commander, he sent, in Quality of his Lieutenant, a certain private Soldier, named *Alonso de Grado*, a Man of Sense and Ability, but of an unquiet turbulent Spirit, one of those who had distinguished themselves in the past Disturbances. It was believed he gave him that Employment both to satisfy him, and to get him out of the Way; but it was no sound Policy to put a Person so little to be depended.

depended on, in a Place that was kept for a Retreat, and against any Attempts which might be feared from the Isle of *Cuba*. His Presence in that Port might have proved a great Inconvenience, if the Vessels which *Diego Velasquez* had set out in Prosecution of his ancient Claim, had arrived a little sooner. But *Alonso de Grado* himself, by his own Proceedings, rectified the Error of his Election; for in a few Days after, there were so many Complaints sent from the Inhabitants, and the Towns thereabouts, that it was necessary to bring him away Prisoner, and to send the Governor himself.

HERNAN CORTES made use of the Opportunity of these Journies to and fro, for the bringing from *Vera-Cruz* some Cordage, Sails, Nails, and other Spoils of the Ships which had been bored, with a Design to build two Brigantines, that he might command the Passage of the Lake; for he could not put out of his Mind those broken Expressions which the *Tlascalans* had heard concerning cutting away the Bridges and ruining the Causeys. He first introduced this Novelty, by making *Moteczuma* desirous to see the Nature of the large Embarkations used in *Spain*, and the great Ease with which they moved, the Wind doing the Service of Oars; a Curiosity which he represented not to be comprehended without ocular Demonstration, because the *Mexicans* were wholly ignorant of the Use of Sails; and the Emperor thought it would be a great Convenience, and redound very much to his Advantage, to have his Mariners instructed in this Art. It was not long before all that had been sent for from *Vera-Cruz* arrived; and the Building of the Vessels was begun by some Artists of that Profession, who had listed in the Army for Soldiers; the Carpenters of the City cutting and bringing the

Timber by *Moteczuma's* Order : So that in a few Days the Brigantines were finished, and the Emperor himself resolved to make the first Trial, embarking with the *Spaniards*, that he might take a nearer View of the surprizing Curiosity of that Sort of Navigation.

FOR this Purpose he ordered Preparations for a great Hunting upon the Water, that he might have Time enough for his Observations : And on the Day appointed all the Canoes belonging to the Royal Equipage were early in the Morning upon the Lake with his whole Family, Retinue, and Huntsmen. They had augmented the Number of Rowers, not without a Presumption that they should gain Credit to the Lightness of their Boats, to the Disgrace of the *Spanish* Vessels, which in their Opinions were heavy, and difficult to govern ; but it was not long before they were undeceived, for the Brigantines set out with Sails and Oars, opportunely favoured by the Wind, and left the Canoes a long Way behind, to the great Admiration of the *Indians*. This was a Day of great Diversion to the *Spaniards*, as well for the Novelty and Manner of Hunting, as for the Costliness and Magnificence of the Banquet with which they were regaled : And *Moteczuma* took great Pleasure in rallying his Rowers for their vain Endeavours to come up with the Brigantines, and gloried in the Victory of the *Spaniards* as his own.

AFTER their Return, the whole City went out in Shoals to behold those floating Houses, as they termed them in their Language. The Novelty of the Thing had its ordinary Effects, and above all, the *Indians* admired the Management of the Rudder, and the Sails, which, to their Thinking, commanded both the Water and the Wind ; an Invention which the most judicious among them admir'd

as a Dexterity intirely beyond their Capacity; and the vulgar, as an Art more than natural, and a Dominion over the Elements themselves. The Result of all was, that those Brigantines, which were built with a greater View, were received with Applause; and this prudent Foresight of *Cortes* had such a happy Effect, that he gained great Reputation, by doing what was necessary to his own Security.

At the same Time he was laying such other Schemes, as his active Vigilance dictated: He introduced, in Discourse with *Moteczuma*, and his Nobles who came to visit him, the Greatness of his Sovereign, extolling his Clemency, and aggrandizing his Power; gaining them to his Opinion with so much Address, that they began generally to desire the Alliance he proposed, and an established Commerce with the *Spaniards*, as the Interest of the *Mexican* Monarchy. He likewise made some important Discoveries by way of Conversation and pure Curiosity: He informed himself very particularly of the Strength and Extent of the *Mexican* Empire; of its Provinces, Confines, Mountains, Rivers, and principal Mines; of the Distances of both Seas, their Qualities, Roads, and Harbours: And he seemed so far from having the least Design in Observations and Inquisitiveness, that *Moteczuma*, for his better Information, and to gratify his Curiosity, ordered his Painters, with the Assistance of skilful People, to draw out all his Dominions on a Piece of Cloth, like our Maps, which shewed him every Particular that was worth taking Notice of: He also permitted some *Spaniards* to go and take a View of the most celebrated Mines, as likewise of the Ports and Bays which were capable of Shipping. This *Hernan Cortes* proposed to him, under Pretext of carrying a distinct Relation to his Prince of every Thing that was remarkable; to which *Moteczuma*

did not only give his Consent, but ordered some of his Soldiers to accompany them, and dispatched Orders that they should have free Admittance, and be instructed in whatever they desired to know; a convincing Sign that he had no Suspicion, and that his Tongue and Heart went together.

BUT at this very Juncture, when the *Spaniards* had most Reason to avoid starting any Innovations, as dangerous to publick Quiet, and the good Understanding between them and the *Mexicans*, our Historians mention a Resolution of theirs, so intirely preposterous, and inconsistent with the rest of their Actions, and so very unseasonable; that we are inclined to call the Truth of it in Question, notwithstanding we have no sufficient Reasons to omit it. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* says, as does likewise *Francisco Lopez de Gomara* before him, (agreeing sometimes in Things least probable) That they had resolved to overthrow all the Idols of *Mexico*, and to turn the principal Temple into a Church: That they sallied out to put in Execution what they had determined, notwithstanding *Moteczuma* resisted, and endeavoured to hinder them: That the Priests took up Arms, and the whole City rose in Defence of their Gods: That the Contest lasted, without coming to Blows, till such Time, as for the publick Quiet, the Idols were suffered to remain in their Places; and a Chapel was cleansed, and an Altar erected within the aforesaid Temple, where they placed the Cross of Christ, and the Image of his most blessed Mother; Mass was sung with great Solemnity, and the Altar continued many Days; the very Priests of the Idols taking care to keep it neat, and to adorn it. And this Account *Antonio de Herrera* likewise gives, but differs from both those Authors, by adding some Circumstances which pass the Limits of Embellishment, if such Rhetorick may

may be allowed an Historian: For he describes a Procession of the *Spaniards* all in Arms, which was made in order to conduct the holy Images to the Temple; pens the very Speech which *Cortes* made, or rather that which he would persuade us he made, before the Crucifix; and recounts a Kind of Miracle his Devotion produced; taking upon him to say, on what Foundation we know not, that a little after the *Mexicans* mutinied upon Account of the Want of Rain to refresh their parch'd Fields: That they came to *Cortes* in a tumultuous Manner, complaining that their Gods refused to send them any Rain, because he had introduced strange Deities into their Temples; and that, to appease those seditious People, he promised them, on the Part of his God, a plentiful Shower of Rain within a few Hours, which Promise Heaven punctually made good, to the great Admiration of *Moteczuma* and the whole City.

WE shall not touch upon the Engagement he laid himself under, by promising Miracles to Infidels for Proof of the Truth of Religion, which might possibly have happened through the Vehemence of his Zeal; nor shall we wonder at the miraculous Success: For he might likewise have had at that Juncture some Spark of that lively Faith, which merits and performs Miracles. But the very Action itself is so dissonant, so extremely repugnant to Reason, that it is difficult to believe it, considering the Wariness and Character of *Cortes*, and the Disposition and Learning of Friar *Bartolome de Olmedo*. But allowing the Enterprize of overthrowing all the Idols of *Mexico* at that Time, and after the Manner related, to have had the Success pretended; (since it is sometimes lawful for an Historian to pass his Judgment upon the Facts he relates) we find in this several Objections, which oblige us at least to doubt
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the Prudence of such a Determination in so populous a City, where it might reasonably be held impossible to effect what was found so difficult in *Cozumel*. They were upon a good Footing with *Moteczuma*: All the Security they enjoyed, depended wholly upon his Favour: He had not given them the least Hopes of admitting the Gospel; but on the contrary was inflexible and obstinate in his Idolatry. The *Mexicans*, besides the Bigotry with which they worshipped their Idols, and defended their Errors, were very much disposed to rise in Arms against the *Spaniards*: What Prudence then could there be in undertaking so unseasonable an Affair against the Inclination of *Moteczuma*? If we look toward the Views with which it was pretended to have been done, we shall find them intirely usefess, and inconsistent with Reason. Was it fit to begin the Conversion and Undeceiving of Idolaters by destroying their Idols: To regard an unprofitable outside Shew as the Triumph of Religion: To place the holy Images in a Place unclean and detestable; leaving them to the Disposall of Pagan Priests, exposed to Irreverence, Profaneness, and Sacrilege: And lastly, to celebrate, amongst the Representations of the Devil, the ineffable Sacrifice of the Mass? *Antonio de Herrera* qualifies these Undertakings with the Title of memorable Actions. Let those judge who shall read them: We for our Parts do not find any good Reason, either Politick or Christian, whereby to solve so many Inconsistencies. So leaving this Point of the Story doubtful and undecided, we shall only add, that we had much rather, that either these Irregularities had never happened after the Manner they are related, or that incredible Truths had never been admitted in History.

C H A P. II.

A Conspiracy which was forming against the Spaniards, by the King of Tezcucó, is discovered; and Motezuma, partly by his own Vigilance, and partly by the Advice of Cortes, quells it, and chastises the Author.

FROM the very first Beginnings of this Enterprize of the *Spaniards*, the Variety of Accidents they met with was very remarkable; Prosperity, and its Contrary, alternately attending their Undertakings. Sometimes Hope was absolute, and made Difficulties give way; and at other Times Dangers sprang from Security itself: All human Designs, and their Successes, being subject to this Condition, to have Good and Evil so link'd together, that with little Intermiſſion they succeed each other; and we ought to believe, that this Instability of earthly Things is necessary to correct our intemperate Passions.

THE blind Gentiles placed this Series of Variety in an imaginary Wheel, which was formed by a Chaining together of good and bad Success, and was turned by a certain Intelligence without Election, which they called Fortune; attributing, by that Notion, to mere Chance every Thing they desired or feared; whereas in Truth it is the wise Disposition of Divine Providence, that the Felicities and Misfortunes of the World do not continue long in the same Station; that Mankind may enjoy the one with Moderation, may bear the other with Patience, and elevate their Minds to the Search of what is more stable and substantial in the Regions of Eternity,

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THE *Spaniards* already found themselves sufficiently secured of the Favour of *Moteczuma*, and of the Esteem of the *Mexicans*: But at the same Time that they enjoyed this favourable Tranquillity, there arose a fresh Storm, which endangered all the Precautions of *Cortes*, and was occasioned by *Cacumazin*, the Emperor's Nephew, King of *Tezcuc*, and first Elector of the Empire. He was an inconsiderate, hot-headed Youth, who being over-ruled by his Ambition, had determined to make his Name famous amongst the *Indians*, by declaring himself against the *Spaniards*, with the Pretence of setting the Emperor at Liberty: His Rank, Dignity, and high Blood, gave him Hopes of attaining the Empire at the first Election; and he flattered himself, that his Sword being once drawn, he might have a Chance to reach the Crown. His first Care was to endeavour to blacken and discredit *Moteczuma* with his People, upbraiding his Pusillanimity and Meanness of Spirit with which he suffered that inglorious Subjection: Then he accused the *Spaniards*, representing in the blackest Colours the Violence they did the Emperor, the great Interest they were gaining in the Government, and the Foundations they were laying of a Tyranny, without passing by any one Particular which might render them odious and despicable. The next Step he took was to sow the same Seeds of Sedition amongst the rest of the petty Kings of the Lake; and finding their Minds sufficiently disposed to an Insurrection, he resolved to put his Designs in Execution; to which Purpose he called a Council of all his Friends and Relations, which he secretly held in his Palace. There were present at the Assembly the Kings of *Cuyocan*, *Iztapalapa*, *Tacuba*, and *Matalcingo*, with other *Caziques* of the adjacent Countries, all Persons of Distinction and Interest, who had the Command of
numerous

numerous Bodies of fighting Men, and valued themselves upon their Experience in Military Affairs.

He made them an Harangue, supported with the Appearance of Reason; and concealing his hidden Designs with a Shew of Zeal for the publick Good, he represented to them the present Condition of the Emperor, seemingly forgetful of his own Liberty; and spoke warmly of the Obligation they all lay under, to unite like loyal Subjects and Vassals, to deliver him from that inglorious Bondage. He artfully brought in the Proximity of Blood, which obliged him to interest himself in what regarded his Uncle. And turning his Discourse upon the Spaniards; *What is it we wait for, Friends, and Kinsmen,* said he, *that we open not our Eyes to behold the Reproach of our Nation, and our shameful Sufferings? Shall we, who are born to bear Arms, and who place our greatest Felicity in the Terror we give our Enemies: Shall we, I say, stoop our Necks to the disgraceful Yoke of a few wandering Strangers? What are all their daring and presumptuous Actions, but so many Reproaches of our Effeminacy, and purely founded upon the Contempt they have of us? Let us but seriously consider the Progress they have made in a few Days, and we shall first be sensible of our own Shame, and next of the Obligations we lie under. They have presumptuously intruded themselves into the Court of Mexico, being become insolent by having obtained four Battels, in which the small Resistance they met with from their Enemies made them valiant. They have entered triumphantly into the City, in Despite of our King, and contrary to the Inclination of the Nobility and Ministry. They have introduced Rebels, and our professed Enemies, and keep them in Arms before our Eyes; and by so doing increase the Vanity of the Tlascalans, and trample under Foot the Glory of the Mexicans. They have taken away the Life of a General*
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of the Empire, by a publick and ignominious Execution, audaciously exercising the Jurisdiction of Magistrates, and the Authority of Legislators, in Dominions wherein they are mere Strangers. And lastly, they detain the Person of the Great Motezuma in their Quarters, having violently forced him from his Palace; and, not content to place Guards upon him in our very Sight, they have proceeded to offer Outrage to his Royal Person, by putting the same Fetters upon him which their most infamous Criminals are wont to wear. That this is true, we are all sensible; yet who will believe it, and not rather give the Lye to his own Eyes? An infamous Truth it is, and which ought to be passed over in Silence, or rather buried in perpetual Oblivion! Well then, what detains you, noble and illustrious Mexicans? Your King a Prisoner, and you patient and unarmed Spectators! This Appearance of Liberty which you see him enjoy, for some Days past, is not Liberty, but a deceitful Step, by which he has insensibly passed to a more indecent Servitude. They have tyrannized over his very Heart, and made themselves Masters of his Will, which is the most ignoble Bondage a Prince can undergo. They are the Men who govern and command us; for the Person who ought to command us, is a Vassal to them. You now behold him supinely negligent of the Conservation of his Dominions, regardless of the Defence of his Laws and Religion, and his wonted Princely Resolution converted into servile Abjection: We, whose Names and Power are so great in the Mexican Empire, must, with our utmost Strength, endeavour to prevent its Ruin. What concerns us all to do, is, to unite our Forces, complete the Ruin of these Strangers, and set our Sovereign at Liberty. If we shall displease him, by not obeying him so strictly in what we know to be contrary to his Interest, he will be sensible of the Goodness of the Remedy, when he shall find himself delivered from the Evil.

Evil. If it should prove otherwise, Mexico has Men whose Temples will very well fit a Crown; and he will not be the first of our Kings, who, by not knowing how to reign, or by reigning negligently, has let the Sceptre drop out of his Hands.

Cacumazin delivered himself after this Manner, and with so much Warmth, that the whole Assembly followed his Opinion; breaking out into great Menaces against the Spaniards, and offering to serve personally in that Action. Only the Cazique of *Matalcingo*, who was in the same Degree of Consanguinity to *Moteczuma*, and not without his Pretensions to the Crown, understood the Drift of the Proposal, and did his Endeavour to frustrate the Designs of his Competitor, by saying, *That he held it more necessary, and agreeable to the Obligation of all, to acquaint Moteczuma with what they designed, and first have his Permission; since it would be very wrong in them to attack a Place wherein he resided, without first putting his Person in Security, as well for the Danger his Life might be in, as for the Disreputation of destroying those Strangers under the Protection of their Sovereign.* The rest of the Assembly rejected this Proposition as impracticable; and Cacumazin let fall some biting Expressions, which the other bore, that he might the better pursue his Intentions. Then the Council broke up, having appointed the Day, concerted the Manner, and recommended an inviolable Secrecy.

MOTEZUMA and Cortes had both Notice of this Conspiracy, almost at the same Time: *Moteczuma* by private Advice, which was supposed to be sent by the King of *Matalcingo*; and Cortes by the Intelligence of his Spies and Confidants. They sought each other to communicate the News they had received, and *Moteczuma* had the good Fortune to speak first, clearing himself from all Suspicion by
such

such a convincing Proof of his Integrity. He informed Cortes of all that had been transacted; expressed a violent Indignation both against his Nephew the King of Tezcucó, and all the rest of the Conspirators, and proposed to chastise them with all the Rigour they deserved. But Cortes, giving him to understand, that he knew the whole Affair, intimating some Circumstances which left him no Room to doubt, answered, *That he was very much concerned to have been the Occasion of such a Disturbance amongst his Vassals, and for that Reason found himself obliged to take upon himself the Remedy: That he was therefore come to ask his Leave to march immediately with his Spaniards to Tezcucó, and put a Stop to this Mischief before it grew to a Head, by bringing Cacumazin Prisoner, before he should join his Confederates, and it should be necessary to have Recourse to more violent Remedies.*

MOTEZUMA would not admit of this Proposal, but on the contrary absolutely rejected it, as well knowing what a Diminution it would be to his Power and Authority, if he made Use of Foreign Arms to chastise Attempts of this Nature in Persons of that Rank. He therefore desired him, for his Sake, to dissemble his Resentment, and told him, as his final Resolution, *That he would not consent, neither was it convenient that the Spaniards should make the least Motion, lest such a Proceeding might increase the People's Hatred to them, and render them more obstinate in insisting upon their Removal from his Court; but that they should rather help him to subvert those Rebels, by assisting him with their Counsel, and by acting, if there was Occasion, as Mediators.*

HE was of Opinion, that it would be best first to try gentle Means, and (considering the Dependence his Nephew had on him) that he should easily bring
bring

bring him to Reason, by reminding him of the Obligations he lay under, and induce him to enter into an amicable Correspondence with the *Spaniards*. To which Purpose he sent for him by one of his principal Attendants, who acquainted him with the Order he brought from the Emperor, and told him, on the Part of *Cortes*, *That he desired his Friendship, and to have him nearer, that he might make him sensible of it.* But he, who had now cast off all Obedience, and consulted nothing but his Ambition, with the Arrogance and Disrespect of one abandon'd, and precipitately bent upon his own Ruin, return'd the Emperor a most insolent Answer, and treated *Cortes* with so much Haughtiness and Contempt, that he made fresh Instances to *Moteczuma* for Permission to chastise him; which Proposal was a second Time rejected by the Emperor, who told him, *That this was one of those Cases, which rather required the Assistance of the Head than of the Hands; and that he should leave it to him to manage according to the Experience and Knowledge he had of those Extravagancies, and of the Source from whence they proceeded.*

HE carried himself afterwards with great Reservedness amongst his Ministers, seemingly condemning the Offence, to induce the Offender to be less circumspect; to which Purpose he told them, *That he looked on this bold Undertaking of his Nephew, as the Heat of Youth, and the first Motions of a Man without Consideration.* But at the same Time he formed a secret Conspiracy against the Conspirator himself; making Use of some of his own Servants, who were either truly sensible of their Duty, or were gained by the Help of Gifts and Promises, by whose Means he contrived it so, that *Cacumazin* was assaulted one Night in his House, embarked on a Canoe, that was ready prepared, and brought

Prisoner to *Mexico*, without his being able to make any Resistance. It was then that *Moteczuma* discovered all his dissembled Anger, and without permitting that unhappy Prince to appear before him, or giving Room for any of his Excuses, he commanded, with the Approbation and Concurrence of *Cortes*, that he should be put into the closest Prison of the Nobles; treating him as a Criminal who had committed an unpardonable Offence, and was to suffer capital Punishment.

THERE was at this Time in *Mexico* a Brother of *Cacumazin*, who some few Days before had happily escaped out of his Hands, he having design'd to deprive him of his Life upon some domestick Jealousies of small Foundation. *Moteczuma* took him under his Protection in his Palace, and for his greater Security, inrolled him in his Family. He was a young Man of Courage and great Merit, well esteemed both in the Court, and amongst his Brother's Vassals; and the Circumstance of his being persecuted had more recommended him both to the one and to the other. *Cortes* cast his Eyes on him; and desiring to gain him for a Friend, and bring him over to his Party, he propos'd to *Moteczuma*, to give him the Investiture and Dominion of *Tezcuco*, since his Brother had rendered himself incapable of resuming his Government, by having conspired against his Sovereign; and told him, " That it would not be safe at that Juncture
 " to punish a Delinquent of so great Consideration
 " with Loss of Life, when the Minds of the
 " Nobles were in such Commotion: That the depriving him of his Kingdom, would be giving
 " him a kind of Death which made less Noise, and
 " was sufficiently severe to strike a Terror into his
 " Accomplices: That this young Man was of a far
 " better Disposition, already indebted to him for
 " his

“ his Life, and would likewise be obliged to him
“ for his Crown, and remain under greater Obligations of Obedience, in Opposition to his Brother. And lastly, that by this, he gave the
“ Kingdom to the Person who had the Right of
“ Succession, and left to his own Blood the Dignity of First Elector, which was of so great Authority in the Empire.”

MOTEZUMA was so highly pleased with this Thought of *Cortes*, that he immediately communicated the same to his Council, where his Resolution was applauded as merciful and equitable: And the Ministers formed a Royal Decree, whereby *Cacumazin* was dispossessed of all his Honours and Dignities, according to the Custom of that Country, as a Traitor and Rebel to his Prince, and his Brother named for Successor of the Kingdom and Electorate. *Moteczuma* afterwards ordered him to his Presence; and during the Time of his Investiture, which had its particular Ceremonies and Solemnities, he, with a Majestick Air, made a Speech, wherein, with all possible Succinctness, he hinted at all the Motives which ought to oblige him to an inviolable Loyalty; and publicly declared, “ That he had determined this Affair purely by the Advice of *Hernan Cortes*, giving him to understand, it was to him he owed his Advancement.” It may be imagined, that the Person interested was not unacquainted with this before; for it was not a Time to conceal Obligations. But what is observable, is the Care *Moteczuma* took to have *Cortes* well esteem’d, and to gain the Minds of his People in Favour of the *Spaniards*.

THE new King immediately departed for his Court, and was well received, and crowned with great Acclamations and Rejoicings; all People celebrating his Exaltation upon different Motives: Some,

because they really loved him, and were concerned at his Persecution; others, out of Ill-will to *Cacumazin*; and the greatest Part to signify their Abhorrence of his Crime. This Manner of Chastisement, without Blood-shed, was highly applauded throughout the whole Empire, and was attributed to the superior Judgment of the *Spaniards*; for no one expected such Moderation from *Moteczuma*. And the very Novelty of it was of so much Consequence, that the other Conspirators presently dispersed their Troops, and, unarmed, had Recourse to their Monarch's Clemency. They made their Application to *Cortes*, and, through his Means, at last obtained a Pardon; and thus the Storm blew over that had been raised against him, and he got clear of the Danger with Advantage, partly by his own Industry, and partly by favourable Incidents: For *Moteczuma* was obliged to him for the Tranquillity of his Realm; the first Prince of the Empire owed to him his Dignity; and by shewing Favour to the rest, who had endeavoured to destroy him, he found himself supported with a new Stock of Friends, and People who stood indebted to him.

C H A P. III.

Motezuma resolves to send away Cortes by answering his Embassy. He assembles his Nobles, and gives Orders, That the King of Spain should be acknowledged for Successor of that Empire; determining to obey him, and to pay him Tribute, as Descendant from their first Conqueror.

THESE Commotions, which had imployed the whole Care of the Emperor, being quieted, he felt that Disturbance, which the Remembrance of past Danger leaves in the Imagination. He reason'd with himself about his present State; and it seemed to him that the *Spaniards* had made too long a Stay at his Court; and that they began to think, that the Goodness he had used towards them gave them a Right over his Liberty. This induced him to resolve to familiarize himself less with them, and to change the Manner of his Conduct. He was ashamed of the Pretence *Cacumazin* had made Use of in his Conspiracy, attributing his good Nature to Want of Spirit; and sometimes he accused himself, as having given too much Occasion for those Murmurs. He was concerned to see his Authority so diminished, which is a Jealousy that constantly attends a Throne, and takes up the first Place amongst those Passions whereby Monarchs are governed. He was apprehensive of a fresh Disturbance amongst his Vassals; and lest new Sparks should arise from that newly extinguished Fire, he was desirous of letting *Cortes* know, That it was Time to think of his Departure; but could not meet with a handsome Opportunity to propose it

to him; for Jealousies are of a Nature not to be easily confessed, because they express a Kind of Fear. He continued some Days in this Irresolution; but at length determined, that it was proper, upon all Accounts, to hasten the Departure of the *Spaniards*, and thereby to remove that Obstacle to his Subjects Loyalty.

THIS Affair he managed with notable Conduct and Prudence; for before he communicated his Intention to *Cortes*, he had prepared Replies to all the Arguments he could bring for his longer Continuance there. He waited till *Cortes* came to visit him as he was wont, receiving him without the least Alteration in his Behaviour or Countenance, and introduced the Discourse concerning the King of *Spain*, after the same Manner as at other Times, declaring, what a mighty Veneration he had for him; and, at last, artfully bringing about what he at first had proposed, said, *That he had been thinking to make a voluntary Acknowledgment of that Vassalage, which was due to him, as Successor of Quezalcoal, and Proprietary Lord of that Empire.* So he really understood it, and in this only he spoke without Disguise; but he did not intend, at that Time, to surrender his Dominions to the King of *Spain*, but to get rid of *Cortes*, and to hasten his Dispatch; to which Purpose he added, *That he intended to assemble the Nobility of his Realms, and to make this Acknowledgment in their Presence, that they might all, after his Example, pay Obedience, and establish the Vassalage by some Contribution, in which he would also set the Example; for that he had already provided several Jewels, and precious Stones of great Value, to discharge this Obligation on his Part, and doubted not but his Nobles would contribute on theirs the richest and most valuable Things they had; nor did he question, but that so considerable a Quantity would be collected, as might*
be

be fit to appear before the Presence of his Prince, as the first Acknowledgment of the Mexican Empire.

THIS was his Proposal, and in this he granted at once every Thing that he thought the *Spaniards* could have the Boldness to desire; satisfying both their Ambition and Avarice, in order to deprive them of all Pretence for remaining longer in his Court, before he ordered them to depart: And he concealed, with so much Artifice, the Point he aim'd at, that *Hernan Cortes*, at that Time, did not discover it, but returned him Thanks for that Liberality, without seeming surprized at it, or magnifying it, as one who accepted, on the Part of his Master, that which he thought his Due: And he was extremely well satisfied for having obtained more than he imagined practicable, at the present Juncture of Affairs. He afterwards, to his Captains and Soldiers, extoll'd the mighty Service they should do their King, if they could bring it about to have so powerful a Monarch declared his Subject and Tributary. He discoursed of the immense Riches with which this News would be accompanied, that it might not appear a bare Relation, and run the Risk of being thought incredible. And, in Truth, he had no Thoughts at that Time of quitting his Enterprize, nor did he believe it a Matter of any great Difficulty to maintain himself there, till they should know in *Spain* the Condition in which he was, and send him Orders how to proceed. A Security into which he was brought by the great Favour of *Moteczuma*, the Friends he was daily making, the Success with which all his Undertakings were attended, or by some superior Cause, which animated him to the Expectation of still greater Matters, lest he should lose Courage, and scruple to proceed when he was within Sight of his utmost Desires.

BUT *Moteczuma* who drew his Lines towards a different Centre, and knew how to resolve at Leisure, and execute with Speed, immediately dispatch'd away his Convocatory Orders to the *Caziques* of his Realm, as was customary when any publick Affairs of more than ordinary Importance occur'd, without citing those who were at a great Distance, that no Time might be lost in what requir'd the utmost Dispatch. It was not many Days before they all arriv'd at *Mexico*, with the Attendants they us'd to bring to Court, which were so numerous, that, had the Occasion and Custom been unknown, it might have alarm'd the whole City. *Moteczuma* assembled them all in the Apartment where he had taken up his Residence, and in the Presence of *Cortes* (who was called to this Congress, and, with his Interpreters and some of his Captains, took his Place amongst them) made them a Speech, in which he laid before them the Motives, and qualify'd the Harshness of that extraordinary Resolution he had taken. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* says, He held two several assemblies, and that *Cortes* did not assist in the first: It may be one of his Equivocations; for *Hernan Cortes* himself would nothave conceal'd it in the second Relation of his Expedition; and besides, as they were then endeavouring to satisfy him, and were to place a Confidence in him, it was not a proper Time for secret Assemblies.

THIS Transaction was carried on with great Splendor and Authority; for the Nobles and Ministers which resided at *Maxico*, assisted likewise at it. And *Moteczuma*, casting his Eyes upon the Assembly with an agreeable and becoming Majesty, began his Harangue; gaining the good Will and Attention of all, by laying before them, *How much he lov'd them, and how much they were oblig'd to him; putting them in Mind, That it was from him alone*
they

they held all the Honours and Dignities they possess'd : And from that beginning inferr'd, how much they ought to believe that he would propose nothing to them but what was for their Interest, after having consider'd on it with mature Deliberation, consulted with his Gods, and receiv'd evident Signals of their Approbation.

He affected many Times these Lights of Inspiration, to give something that savour'd of Divinity to his Resolutions, and on this Occasion they believed him ; for it was no Novelty, for the Devil to favour him with his Answers. Having laid this Foundation of Recrimination and Mystery, he gave a brief Relation of “ The Origin of the *Mexican* “ Empire ; the Expedition of the *Nabatlacas* ; the “ prodigious Actions of *Quezalcoal*, their First “ Emperor ; the Prochecy he left them when he “ departed for the Conquest of the *East* ; foretel- “ ling, by the Impulse of Heaven, That his De- “ scendants should return to govern these Coun- “ tries”. Then he touched, as a Point undoubted, “ That the King of *Spain*, who rul'd in those “ Eastern Regions, was lawful Successor of the “ same *Quezalcoal*.” And added, “ That being “ the Monarch, from whom was to proceed that “ Prince so much desired amongst the *Mexicans*, “ and so often promised in the Oracles and Pro- “ phecies, which that Nation revered, they “ ought unanimously to acknowledge in his Person “ that Hereditary Right, giving to his Blood that, “ which for want of it, had been introduced by “ Election : And that had he come himself in Per- “ son, as he had only sent his Embassadors, he “ was so much a Lover of Justice and Equity, “ and bore his Vassals so great an Affection, that “ for their greater Felicity, he would have been “ the First to strip himself of the Dignity he “ possessed, by laying the Crown at his Feet, “ either

“ either to leave it to his absolute Disposal, or to
 “ receive it again from his Hand. But owing to
 “ his Gods the good Fortune that this so desirable
 “ News was arrived in his Time, he was resolv’d
 “ to be the First to shew his Satisfaction, and had
 “ determin’d immediately to pay him Obedience,
 “ and to do him some considerable Service: To
 “ which End he had destin’d the most precious
 “ Jewels of his Treasury, and desired that his
 “ Nobles would follow his Example, not only in
 “ making the same Acknowledgment, but in ac-
 “ companying it with some Contribution of their
 “ Riches, that the Service being greater might
 “ appear with the greater Splendor in the Presence
 “ of that Prince.

In this Manner *Motezuma* concluded his Dis-
 course, tho’ he did not utter it all without Inter-
 ruption; for in spite of all the Efforts made upon
 himself, in this Act of his, when he came to pro-
 nounce himself Vassal to another Prince, he found
 something so shocking, and so repugnant to his
 Nature in those Expressions, that he paus’d a while,
 as if he wanted Words to proceed; and he shew’d
 his Concern so publickly, that some Tears were
 seen trickling down his Cheeks, which seem’d as if
 they had escap’d his Eyes without their Consent.
 And the *Mexicans*, sensible of his Disturbance, and
 of the Cause from whence it proceeded, began
 likewise to shew their Concern, breaking forth into
 loud Sighs, desiring in Appearance, not without
 something that savoured of Flattery, that by the
 Noise they made, their Fidelity should be taken
 Notice of; so that *Cortes* thought it necessary to
 desire Liberty to speak, in order to encourage
Motezuma, and put him out of the Perturbation he
 was in: He said “ That it was not the Intention
 “ of the King his Sovereign to dispossess him of
 “ his

“ his Royal Dignity, nor to make the least Innovation in his Government ; but that all he desired was, that they would, at the present Assembly, settle his Right to the Succession, in Favour of his Descendants, or Posterity, by Reason of his being so far distant from those Regions, and so taken up in other Conquests, that the Case mentioned in their Traditions and Prochecies might not happen in many Years.” With which Explanation *Moteczuma* recovered Heart, re-assumed an Air of Tranquillity, and finished his Discourse as has been observed.

THE *Mexicans* remained astonish'd, and utterly confounded to hear such a Proposal, wondering at it, as a Thing inconsistent with, and unbecoming the Majesty of so powerful a Monarch, and a Prince so extremely jealous of his Authority. They looked on each other without daring either to contradict, or to give any Sign of Consent, as being apprehensive that by doing either they should but confirm him the more in his strange Determination. This respectful Silence lasted till his Prime Minister, as a Person who had a better Knowledge of his Prince's Disposition than any other, took upon him to speak for the rest, and said ; “ That all the Nobles who compos'd that Assembly respected him as their Lord and natural Sovereign, and should be ready to obey whatever his Majesty had been pleased to propose, and to follow any Example he should think fit to set them ; they not doubting but that he had well weighed every Thing and had consulted with Heaven ; nor had they any Instrument more sacred than that of his Voice whereby to be informed of the Will of their Gods.” The whole Assembly agreed in the [same] Sentiment ; and *Hernan Cortes*, when it came to his Turn to make his Acknowledgments, dictated

dictated to his Interpreters a Speech no less artful than the former, in which he gave Thanks to *Moteczuma*, and all who were present, for this Demonstration of their Respect; accepting their Service in the Name of his King, without seeming to think it strange that they complied with their Obligations; but rather as one who receives his Debt, and is pleased with his Debtor's punctual Payment.

THE Tears which *Moteczuma* had let fall were not sufficient, at that Time, to make *Cortes* suspicious of his Liberality, or to induce him to believe that he was then making Way for his final Dispatch; in which his being carryed away by the first Appearance will admit some Excuse: For when he found that unaccountable Opinion concerning the Descendants of *Quezalcoal* received amongst them as an infallible and incontestable Truth, and that they look'd upon *Don Carlos* to be undoubtedly one of those Descendants, this Demonstration of their Respect did not appear so very irregular as to make him suspect it to be Artifice or Affectation. Upon which Supposition he might also attribute *Moteczuma's* Tears and Perturbation of Mind, when he came to pronounce the Clausures of Vassalage, to the Pain which a King suffers when he quits a Crown, and measures the vast Difference there is between Sovereignty and Subjection; a Case in which the Spirit of a Man may sink without doing Wrong to his Courage. But there is Reason to believe, that *Moteczuma*, notwithstanding he look'd on the King of *Spain* as lawful Successor of the Empire, had no Intention to make good what he offered: His whole Aim was to get rid of the *Spaniards*, and to take Time afterwards to consult his Ambition, without laying any great Strefs upon his Word: And we ought not to be surpris'd to find Dissimulation

lation among those barbarous Princes, since, tho' sufficient to stain the Honour of a private Person, other barbarous Statesmen have placed it amongst the necessary Arts of Reigning.

HOWEVER, from that Day forward, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth was acknowledg'd and believed by those People to be lawful and hereditary Lord of the *Mexican* Empire; being indeed destined by Heaven to a more real Possession of that Crown. Upon this Resolution a Publick Instrument was form'd, with all necessary Solemnities, according to the Method they us'd of paying Homage to their Kings: And this Submission of *Moteczuma* and his Vassals to the Emperor gave to *Don Carlos* something more than the bare Name of King of the *Indies*, and was a Kind of mysterious Insinuation of that Title which he afterwards acquired by Force of Arms, upon just Provocation, (as we shall see in its proper Place): A particular Circumstance which concurred in the Justification of the Conquest of that Empire; besides those general Considerations, which, in other Parts of the World do not only render War excusable, but likewise lawful, and reasonable, whensoever it appears to be undertaken as the necessary Means for the Introduction of the Gospel.

C H A P. IV.

The Gold and Jewels designed for the Present, delivered into the Possession of Cortes. Motezuma resolutely tells him, that he must think of his Departure, which he endeavours to delay. Advice brought of the Arrival of a Squadron of Spanish Ships upon the Coast.

MOTEZUMA lost not a Moment's Time, but us'd his utmost Diligence to bring about the Designs he had in View, being now fully resolved to dispatch the *Spaniards* as soon as possible, as being weary of the Violence he did himself under that Kind of Subjection which he found he was obliged patiently to continue in as if it was of his own Choice. Full of this Care, he delivered to *Cortes* the present he had provided, which consisted of various Curiosities in Gold, with precious Stones, some which he us'd about his own Person, and others that were kept for Grandeur, and serv'd for Ostentation; different Pieces of the same Kind and Metal in the Shapes of Animals, Birds, and Fishes, the Excellency of the Workmanship delighting the Eye, and extremely inhancing their Value: A great Number of those Stones called *Chalcuities*, in Colour like to Emerald, and which they esteemed as we do our Diamonds; together with some Pictures made of Feathers, whose Colours being natural, they either imitated better, or ow'd less to Art in the imitation of Nature. The Gift of a Royal Mind, who found himself oppress'd, and desired to put a Price upon his Liberty.

AFTER this came the Presents of the Nobles, under the Title of a Contribution, which consisted of Pieces of Gold, and other Curiosities of the same

same Sort, in which they vied with each other, striving who shou'd express the greatest Obedience to their Prince, and not without some Mixture of their own Vanity. All came directed to *Moteczuma*, and pass'd on, by his Order, to the Apartment of *Cortes*, who nam'd a Receiver and Treasurer, that they might take an exact Account of what was delivered; and in a few Days they amass'd such a Quantity of Gold, that besides the Jewels, precious Stones, and Pieces of curious Workmanship, after they had melted down the rest, they found Six Hundred Thousand *Pesos* of Gold in Bars of good Alloy; out of which the Fifth Part was set aside for the King, and of the Remainder, a Second Fifth for *Hernan Cortes*, with the Approbation of his People, and to defray the Expence of providing for the publick Necessities of the Army. He likewise set aside the Sum for which he stood accountable to *Diego Velasquez*, and that which his Friends in the Island of *Cuba* had lent him; the rest was divided amongst the Officers and Soldiers, including those who were at *Vera-Cruz*.

THOSE who had Employments, had equal Shares; but amongst the private Men there was some Difference made, for those were distinguished and best rewarded who had done best Service, or been least troublesome in the past Disturbances. An Equity of a very dangerous Nature, where just Rewards are look'd upon as Grievances, and Distinction of Merit occasions Complaints. There were great Murmurings, and bold Words uttered against *Hernan Cortes*, and his Captains: For at the Sight of such a Mass of Wealth, those whose Deserts were least, required an equal Recompence with the most deserving. Their Avarice could not possibly be satisfied, nor was it convenient to publish the Reasons of that unequal Distribution.

BERNAL

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO discusses this Point very indecently, and wastes too much Paper in considering and enlarging upon the Hardships the poor Soldiers underwent in this Distribution, and goes so far as to set down every Minute Expression this or that Soldier us'd amongst his Companions.

HE speaks more like a necessitous Soldier than a Historian: And *Antonio de Herrera* follows him without making sufficient Reflection; for it is no less a Fault in History, to pass over that which ought to be well considered, than it is to dwell too long upon that which may be omitted. But both the one and the other agree, that this Discontent of the Soldiers was quieted by the Liberality of *Cortes*, who gave out of his own Dividend, all that was necessary to satisfy those who complained; and they afterwards greatly praise his Generosity and Disinterestedness; in this Manner overthrowing, what they ought not at all to have mentioned in their Narration.

So soon as *Motexuma* and his Nobles had made this Acknowledgment of Subjection offer'd in the Assembly, he sent for *Cortes*, and with an unaccustomed Air of Severity, told him, " That it
 " was reasonable he should now begin to think of
 " his Journey, since he was intirely dispatched;
 " and that the Motives, or Pretences for his Stay
 " being ceased, and he having received so favourable an Answer to his Embassy, the *Mexi-*
 " *cans* would not fail of surmising that he had
 " greater Views, if they saw him, without any apparent good Cause, continue longer in his
 " Court; nor could he himself any ways support
 " him, when Reason was not on his Side." This short Intimation of his Mind, delivered in a Sort of menacing Tone, with Signs of a premeditated Resolution

Resolution, was so great a Surprize to *Cortes*, that he paused for some Moments, to call to his Assistance his wonted Discretion in the Reply he was to make; and discovering then the Artifice of those Liberalities and Favours of the late Assembly, the first Motion of his Mind prompted him to return a resolute Answer, and to have Recourse to that superior Genius, by which he had the Ascendant over him; and whether it was with this Intent, or that he began to suspect *Moteczuma* might have some Force ready to back him, since he had delivered himself in such warm and plain Terms, he privately gave Orders to one of his Captains to make his Soldiers take to their Arms, and to be in a Readiness for any Occasion that might offer. But advising better with himself, he determined to seem for the present to acquiesce in the Emperor's Pleasure; and to give some Reason for the Delay of his Answer, he handsomly excus'd his being embarrass'd at seeing him moved more than ordinary, tho' what he had been pleased to order was nothing but what was very reasonable. He told him, "That he would instantly think of hastning his Journey; That he had now every Thing ready which he wanted; and that desiring to execute his Design without farther Delay, he had come with a Resolution of begging his Permission for the building of some Vessels proper for so tedious a Voyage, having, as his Majesty well knew, lost those in which he came thither." With this artful and prudent Reply, he express'd his Obedience, and suspended the Execution, freeing himself from his present Embarrassment, and gaining Time for further Resolutions.

It is said that *Moteczuma* had provided Fifty Thousand Men to support his Determination, and

that he came fully resolved to make himself obeyed by Force in Case he found there was any Occasion : But it is most certain, that he greatly apprehended the Answer of *Cortes*, and desired to avoid a Rupture ; for he embraced him with particular Affection, being highly pleased with his Reply, which he seemed not to have expected. He was pleas'd that *Cortes* had excused him from putting himself in a Passion, or breaking with a Person for whom he had not only a Friendship, but likewise a Respect ; and finding himself now free from his Apprehensions, he said, " That it was not his Intention to hasten his Departure without furnishing
" him with the necessary Means to put it in Execution : That he should, without Delay, dispose
" every Thing for building of the Vessels ; and in
" the mean Time he need not give himself any
" Disturbance, nor stir from his Court. That it
" was sufficient for the Satisfaction of his Gods,
" and the Quiet of his Subjects, that he had
" shewed such Readiness to obey the Commands
" of the first, and to comply with the Demands of
" the latter." At this Time the Devil wearied him with horrible Threats, deluding him with Voices real or imaginary from the Mouths of his Idols, to irritate him against the *Spaniards*. The fresh Rumours which were spreading amongst his People, who very much resented that he had made himself the Tributary of a strange Prince, gave him likewise great Uneasiness ; they looking upon this quitting of his Authority as a new Grievance, which in Time would fall heavy upon the Backs of his Vassals ; so that he found himself attack'd on the one Side by Politicks, and on the other by Religion ; and it was very much that he determined to give this Permission to *Cortes*, as being most obser-

vant towards his Gods, and no less superstitious to the Idol of his Ambition.

ORDERS were instantly issu'd out for the building of the Vessels. The Journey was publish'd, and *Moteczuma* made Proclamation, that all the Carpenters of the Country round about should repair to *Ulua*, assigning the Places where they were to cut Wood, and the Towns which were to contribute *Indians* of Burthen to carry it to the Dock. *Hernan Cortes*, for his Part, affected an outward Shew of Compliance: He immediately dispatch'd away the Masters and Workmen who had been employed in building the Brigantines, and were well known now amongst the *Mexicans*. He discoursed publicly with them of the Size and Quality of those Vessels, ordering them to make Use of the Iron-Work, Rigging, and Sails of those which were sunk, and all the Talk was of the Voyage, as if it had been resolved on. Thus he lull'd the *Mexicans* asleep, quell'd the growing Murmurings, and confirm'd himself in *Moteczuma's* Confidence.

BUT at the Time when the Builders were to set out for *Vera-Cruz*, the General sent for *Martin Lopez*, a *Biscainer* by Nation, who went as chief Director, and who, as he was a consummate Master in the Art of Building, was no less qualified as a Soldier: *Cortes* gave him privately in Charge, "That he should go on by little and little in the building of those Vessels, and endeavour to prolong the Work as much as he possibly could, but still with such an artful Management, as not seemingly to delay it." His Design was, under the Colour of this, to keep himself still at Court, and give Time to his Commissaries *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero* and *Francisco de Montejo*, to re-

turn from *Spain*, in Hopes they would bring him some fresh Recruits, or at least the Dispatches and Orders he wanted for the Direction of his Undertaking, which he still firmly resolved to prosecute: And in case the last Necessity should force him out of *Mexico*, he designed to wait for them in *Vera-Cruz*, and maintain himself under the Protection of that Fortrefs, making use of the Nations in Friendship with him to oppose the *Mexicans*: An admirable Constancy, which not only supported him in the present Difficulties, but provided against those which might afterwards happen.

WITHIN a few Days happened another Accident which quite disconcerted all these Measures, calling his Prudence and Courage to a new Trial. *Motezuma* had Intelligence brought him, that eighteen Sail of Ships were seen off the Coast of *Ulua*; and his Ministers, who commanded in that Part of the Country, had sent the said Ships and their Number, painted upon Cloths, which served instead of Letters, with a Description of the People they had seen in them, and some Characters which signified what they suspected of their Intentions; being *Spaniards* in Appearance, and arriving at a Time when he treated of dispatching those who were already at his Court. Whatever Impression these Representations had on the Mind of *Motezuma*, the Result was, that he immediately sent for *Cortes*, laid the Picture before him, and told him, "That now the Provision he was making for his
" Journey was unnecessary, since some Ships of his
" Nation were arrived upon the Coasts, on which
" he might embark." *Cortes* viewed the Painting with more Attention than Surprize; and though he did not understand the Characters which described them, he knew enough by the Habit of the People, and the Make of the Vessels, not to doubt their being

ing *Spaniards*. The first Motion of his Heart would have inclined him to Joy, since he believed for certain that his Commissaries were arrived, and flattered himself that they had brought him very considerable Supplies in such a Number of Vessels. The Imagination is easily carried away to that which one desires, and he could not suppose at that Time that so powerful an *Armada* was designed against him; for he formed his Judgment by his own sincere and noble Manner of acting, and the Well-intentioned are with Difficulty brought to believe that which is against Justice and Reason. His Answer to *Moteczuma* was, "That he would depart immediately, "if those Ships were bound back for any of the "King of *Spain's* Dominions." And, not seeming surprized that the Emperor should have the first News of these Particulars, because he was no Stranger to the indefatigable Diligence of his Couriers, he added, "That it would not be long before he "should have an Account of this Accident from "the *Spaniards* who were at *Zempoala*, and that "then he should know with Certainty whither those "Ships were bound, and the Designs of their Owners, and whether it would be necessary to proceed in the building of the Vessels."

MOTEZUMA approved this Answer, being well pleased with his Readiness, and acknowledging him to be in the right: But in a short Time Letters came from *Vera-Cruz*, in which *Gonzalo de Sandoval* sent Information, "That those Ships belonged to "Diego Velasquez, and brought eight hundred *Spaniards* to oppose *Hernan Cortes* and his Conquest." This unexpected Stroke he received in the Presence of *Moteczuma*, and stood in Need of all his Courage and Resolution to conceal his Perturbation of Mind. He found himself in Danger from the very Quarter from whence he expected Succour. The Junc-

ture was truly desperate: Perplexity on every Side. Discontents and Murmurings in *Mexico*, and Enemies upon the Coast: But doing the best he could to compose himself, he concealed his Concern from *Motezuma*, softened the Account amongst his own People, and retired afterwards to reason calmly, and be at more Liberty to think of a Remedy.

C H A P. V.

An Account of the Preparations made by Diego Velasquez for the Destruction of Hernan Cortes: The Army and Fleet which he sent against him, under the Command of Pamphilo de Narvaez: His Arrival upon the Coast of New Spain; and his fruitless Attempt to reduce the Spaniards of Vera-Cruz.

WE left *Diego Velasquez* full of Distrusts, impatient that his Endeavours to detain *Hernan Cortes* had proved abortive, disgracing, with the Name of Treason, the Flight which his own Violence had occasioned, that he might take his Revenge under the specious Pretext of a necessary Remedy. He received the Letters of the Licentiate *Benito Martin*, his Chaplain, with the Title of the King's Lieutenant, not only of that Island, but of all the Lands which should be discovered and conquered through his Means. He informed him with what Kindness or Acknowledgment he was defended, and protected by the Bishop of *Burgos*, President of the *Indies*; and how far that Prelate discountenanced the Commissaries of *Hernan Cortes*. But, at the same Time, he acquainted him with
what

what Benignity the Emperor had given them Audience at *Tordesillas*, together with the Noise the great Wealth they brought had made in *Spain*; and of the mighty Hopes already conceived of that Conquest, which was esteemed preferable to all that had been made before.

WITH his new Dignity, *Diego Velasquez* entertained greater Thoughts. The Favours of the President made him bold and presumptuous: And as human Passions increase with Power, or it is their Property to have the greatest Command over the most powerful, the Governor believed himself engaged more highly to resent the Offence he had received, and that his Envy was no more than a Desire of doing himself Justice. The Applauses given to *Cortes* made him impatient and outrageous; and notwithstanding he was not sorry to see the Conquest so far advanced, (because he still preserved a due Zeal for the Service of his Sovereign) yet he could not bear that another should receive the Thanks, which, in his Opinion, were due to him alone: So vain was he of the little Share he had in the first Disposition of that Enterprize, that, without any other Foundation, he took to himself the Name of Conqueror, and thought himself so much Lord of the Whole, that he believed the very Actions by which the Conquest was atchieved, to be all his own.

UPON these Motives, and with these wrong Notions, he immediately prepared to form a Fleet and Army for the Destruction of *Cortes*, and all those who had followed his Fortune: He bought Ships, listed Soldiers, and went in Person over the whole Island, visiting the Dwellings of the *Spaniards*, and encouraging them to the Undertaking. He set before them the Obligation they lay under to redress his Injuries: He shared with them before-hand the

immense Riches of that Conquest, which, as he said, was then usurped by ill-advised Rebels, who, as they had basely made their Escapes from *Cuba* by Flight, had left no Room to doubt of their Pusillanimity. With these Hopes, and some Expence, (wherein he consumed the greatest Part of his Substance) he in a few Days got together a Body of Men, which in those Parts of the World, both for the Number and Quality of the People, might be termed a formidable Army. It consisted of eight hundred *Spanish* Foot, eighty Horse, and ten or twelve Pieces of Artillery, with Abundance of Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition. He appointed for chief Commander of that Expedition, *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, a Native of *Valladolid*, a Man of Capacity, and of the first Distinction in that Island, but highly opinionated of himself, and obstinately positive in his Resolutions. He gave him the Title of his Lieutenant, naming himself, Governor at least, of *New Spain*.

HE gave him likewise secret Instructions, in which he ordered him, "That he should endeavour, " to the utmost of his Power, to take *Cortes*, and " should send him Prisoner to him under a strong " Guard, that he might receive from his Hands " the Punishment he had deserved; That he should " do the same with the chief Officers who follow'd " him, in case they refused to abandon his Interest: " And that he should take Possession, in his Name, " of all that had been conquered, adjudging it to " be all within his District, as the King's Lieutenant." All this without reasoning upon any Accidents which might happen; for at the Appearance of such a Force, he thought he could easily obtain all that he proposed; and Confidence (a Vice familiar to the Passionate) either looks at Dangers always
at

at a Distance, or is insensible of them till it suffers under the Difficulty.

THE Monks of *St. Geronimo*, who presided over the Royal Audience at *St. Domingo*, and over the other Islands, with Supreme Jurisdiction, were informed of these Preparations, and foreseeing the Inconveniences which might result from so publick a Competition, sent the Licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, Auditor of the same Royal Audience, to endeavour to bring *Diego Velasquez* to Reason; and if he found gentle Means insufficient, to acquaint him with the Orders he carried; commanding him, upon great Penalties, to disarm his People, and unrig his Fleet, and not disturb or give any Impediment to the Conquest in which *Hernan Cortes* was employed, under the Colour of its belonging to him, upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever: And that in case he had any personal Complaint against *Cortes*, or any Claim of Right to the Country he was then gaining for the King, he should appear before the Royal Tribunal, where he should be sure of having Justice done him in a regular Way.

THIS Minister arrived at the Isle of *Cuba*, where he found the Fleet ready to sail, which consisted of eleven tall Ships and seven somewhat larger than Brigantines, all in very good Order; and *Diego Velasquez* busily employed in forwarding the Embarkation of the Troops. The Licentiate did all he possibly could to reduce him to Reason, making Use of what Arguments he thought properest to persuade him to desist from his Enterprize; representing to him, “ The Hazard to which he exposed
“ himself in case *Cortes* should stand upon his De-
“ fence, supported by those Adventurers who fol-
“ lowed him, and were now interested in defend-
“ ing what they had acquired: The Damage that
“ might

“ might ensue when those warlike *Indians*, newly
“ conquered, should perceive a Civil War amongst
“ the *Spaniards*. And that if by this Misunder-
“ standing, a Conquest on which they already set
“ so great a Value in *Spain*, should be lost, he
“ would risk his Credit, without its being in the
“ Power of those, who were most inclined in his
“ Favour, to defend him.” Then he spoke on
the Part of the Royal Chamber, and endeavoured
to persuade him, “ To apply himself to the Tri-
“ bunal, which would consider his Case with At-
“ tention, if he did not discredit it by this Act of
“ Violence.” And lastly, seeing him incapable of
Advice, for that every Thing which did not tend
towards the Destruction of *Hernan Cortes*, seemed
to him utterly impracticable, he passed on to the
judicial Part, shewed his Orders, and caused them
to be notified by an *Escrivano* he had brought with
him for that Purpose, accompanying them with di-
vers Requests, and Protestations. But nothing was
sufficient to stop his Resolution; for the Title of the
King's Lieutenant had so raised him in his own Con-
ceit, that it seemed he would acknowledge no Su-
perior in his Government, and obstinately persisted
in his untractable Humour. The Licentiate dissem-
bled some Indecencies without directly contradict-
ing him, lest he should render him more precipi-
tate; and seeing that he endeavoured to hasten the
Embarkation of his People, he feigned a Desire of
beholding this Land so much applauded and cried
up, and, under the Pretext of Curiosity, offered to
accompany them; to which Proposal *Diego Velas-
quez* easily agreed, that the News of his Insolence
might come later to the Isle of *Santo Domingo*;
whereupon he embarked, with the Approbation and
Good-liking of all. A Resolution which, whether
it proceeded from himself, or from his Instructions,
seemed

seemed well judged, and convenient for the preventing of any Breach amongst the *Spaniards*. He persuaded himself, with sufficient Probability, that when he was far distant from *Velasquez*, he might with more Ease get his Orders obeyed, or that at least his Mediation would be more powerful with *Pamphilo de Narvaez*; and notwithstanding his Presence was a new Inconveniency, (as we shall see hereafter) his Zeal and good Intentions were nothing the less meritorious: For though the Event does not always answer the Means which are made use of to make an Affair succeed, yet this Effect of Chance does not lessen the Merit of well-concerted Designs. *Andres de Duero* that Secretary of *Velasquez*, who favoured *Cortes* so much in the Beginning of his Fortune, likewise accompanied the Expedition. Some say he offered himself for this Voyage, purely to share some of the Wealth acquired, by remembering *Cortes* of the Services he had formerly done him; and others say, his Intention was to mediate with *Narvaez*, and prevent, as much as he could, the Ruin of his Friend; which we rather chuse to believe than the former, as being sensible that it ill becomes an Historian to value himself upon ill-natured Conjectures.

THE Fleet set Sail, and, having a favourable Wind, in a few Days got a Sight of the desired Land. They came to an Anchor in the Port of *Ulua*, and *Pamphilo de Narvaez* sent some Soldiers ashore to get Intelligence, and make what Discoveries they could in the neighbouring Villages. These were not long before they surprized and took two or three *Spaniards*, who were straggling about that Place: They brought them before their Commander; and the Men, either fearful of some Violence, or inclin'd to Novelty, informed him of all that had passed in *Mexico*, and *Vera-Cruz*, seeking to flatter him by
discrediting

discrediting of *Cortes*. Upon this Intelligence, the first Thing he resolved on was to treat with *Gonzalo de Sandoval* about the Surrender of the Fortrefs under his Command, and to engage him either to maintain it for him, or to dismantlement it, and with his Garrison to join the Army. He intrusted this Negotiation to a Clergyman he had brought with him, named *Juan Ruis de Guevara*, a Man of a less gentle Temper than his Profession required. There went with him three Soldiers who served as Witnesses, and a publick Notary, in case it should be found necessary to come to Terms of Notification. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* had his Centinels in proper Places to observe the Motions of the Fleet, and they gave Advice from one to another, by which Means he had an Account of their Approach a good while before they arrived: And being assured that there was no greater Number to follow, he ordered the Gates of the Town to be opened, and retired to wait their Coming in his Lodgings: They arrived, and not without Presumption of being well received. The Priest, after the first Civilities were over, and he had delivered his Credentials to *Sandoval*, gave him an Account of the Forces with which *Pamphilo de Narvaez* was come to take Satisfaction for the Injury which *Hernan Cortes* had done to *Diego Velasquez*, by withdrawing from his Obedience; the Conquest of that whole Country being intirely his Property, as having been begun by his Order, and at his Expence. He made the Proposal as a Point of no Difficulty, and that had more than sufficient Motives, and expected to receive Thanks for coming to offer him such advantageous Conditions, in an Affair supported with so much Force, and, as he imagined, so much Reason. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* answered him with some Warmth, which he could not well conceal, “ That *Pamphilo de Narvaez* was
“ his

“ his Friend, and so prudent and loyal a Subject
“ of the King’s, that he would certainly desire no-
“ thing but what should be most advantageous
“ and convenient for his Majesty’s Service: That
“ the present Juncture of Affairs, and the State in
“ which the Conquest was at that Time, required
“ that he should join his Forces with those of *Cortes*,
“ and assist him to perfect that which was now in
“ such Forwardness, taking Care first of their prin-
“ cipal Obligation; for that the Quarrels and Ani-
“ mosities of private Persons were not, at the King’s
“ Expence, to be decided by a Civil War: But
“ that if *Narvaez*, preferring his own private Re-
“ venge to the publick Interest, designed any Man-
“ ner of Violence against *Hernan Cortes*, he might
“ from that Moment be assured, that not only him-
“ self, but all the Soldiers of that Garrison, would
“ rather chuse to die fighting by his Side, than
“ ever agree to so base and dishonourable an Action.”

The Priest received this Repulse, as an unexpected Stroke; and being more accustomed to suffer him- self to be governed by his Passion than to repress it, he broke out into injurious Language and Threats against *Hernan Cortes*, calling him Traitor; and went so far as to say, that *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and all who espoused that Traitor’s Interest, deserved no better Title themselves. They all endeavoured to bring him to Reason, and within the Bounds of Moderation, putting him in Mind of his Profession, that he might be sensible at least of the Consideration upon which they bore with him. But he, raising his Voice, without changing his Style, commanded the *Escrivano*, or *Notary*, he had brought with him, to publish the Orders he had, “ That all might
“ know that they were to pay Obedience to *Nar-
“ vaez*, on Pain of Death.” But this was what could not be put in Execution; for *Gonzalo de San-
doval*

doval told the *Escrivano* plainly, " That he would order him immediately to be hanged, if he presumed to publish any Orders which did not come from the King." In short, the Dispute rose to that Height, that *Sandoval* commanded the Messengers to be seized and taken into Custody. But soon after, reflecting with himself upon the Mischief they might do, if they returned exasperated to *Narvaez*, he resolved to send them Prisoners to *Mexico*, that *Hernan Cortes* might secure them there, or endeavour to reduce them. This Determination he instantly put in Execution, providing *Indians* of Burthen, who carried them Prisoners upon their Shoulders in a sort of Chairs, which they used instead of Litters. There went with them, as Commander of the Guard, a *Spaniard* he much confided in, whose Name was *Pedro de Solis*, whom he charged not to offer them any Injury, or ill Treatment upon the Road. *Sandoval* dispatched a Courier before, to give an Account to *Cortes*, and took Care to get his People in a Readiness, called together his *Indian* Friends for the Defence of the Place, disposing every Thing as became a vigilant and careful Captain.

It cannot be denied, but that he exerted the Military Power too far in the Imprisonment of an Ecclesiastick, unless he did it with political Views; considering that it would be very inconvenient to have a Person of so violent and precipitate a Disposition near *Narvaez*, when they were to endeavour to bring Matters to an Accommodation, which was so very necessary. It may be presumed, that, in this Resolution, if he had one Eye turned towards his own private Resentment, he had the other upon the publick Advantage: And if he acted with this last View, (as his first Calmness seems to persuade us, when he suffered the Priest's Heat, and shew'd him

him all due Respect) then indeed his Conduct ought not to be wholly condemned, because in some Part of it he wanted a little Moderation ; for sometimes, when a Man is warmed, he goes through with what otherwise he could never have brought about ; and in such Cases Anger serves to give Life to Prudence.

C H A P. VI.

The Precautions of Hernan Cortes to avoid a Rupture. He makes Overtures of Peace, which are rejected by Narvaez, who, on the contrary, proclaims War, and seizes the Person of the Licentiate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon.

HERNAN CORTES received frequent Advices of all these Particulars, which plainly confirmed what before he only suspected: And some little Time after, he understood, that *Pamphilo de Narvaez* had landed, and marched with his Army directly for *Zempoala*. This News made him very uneasy, dubious, and irresolute what Measures he was to take, and plainly sensible of the Inconveniences he lay under. He could think of no Way that was not attended with ill Consequences. To seek *Narvaez* in the Field with such unequal Forces, was Temerity ; more particularly when he was to leave in *Mexico* a Part of his People to cover the Quarters, defend their acquired Treasure, and keep up that kind of Guard which *Moteczuma* suffered himself to be under : To expect his Enemy in the City, was the certain Way to stir up seditious Humours, with which the *Mexicans* were already but
too

too much infected, and to furnish them with a fair Opportunity of taking to their Arms under the specious Pretext of *Self-Defence*, and by that Means have another Danger at his Back. To make Overtures of Peace to *Narvaez*, and sollicite the Union of their respective Forces, was indeed the wholesomest and most convenient Method of proceeding, but appear'd the most difficult; considering the Perverseness and the Obstinacy of the Man's Temper he had to deal with, whom he despair'd to bring to Reason, tho' he should condescend even to sue for his Friendship, which as yet he had not resolv'd upon; because a submissive Condescension seldom gains upon an insolent and obstinate Disposition, and in Proposals of Peace makes but a very indifferent Figure. He consider'd the total Loss of his Conquest; the Disappointment of those great Beginnings; the Cause of Religion neglected; the King's Interest trod under Foot; and, what most of all concern'd him was, to find himself oblig'd to feign Security and Content, shewing a Calm in his Countenance whilst his Breast was agitated by a furious Tempest.

To *Motezuma* he said, " That those newly arriv'd *Spaniards* were Vassals to the King his Master, and had brought a Second Embassy, to support the Proposition he had already made: " That they came with an Army, according to the Custom of their Nation; but that he would endeavour to dispose them to return, and would himself go along with them, as having now receiv'd his full Dispatches, since his Majesty's Generosity and Bounty had left nothing for those new Comers to desire, they having no other Proposals to make but what he himself had already made and obtain'd."

HIS Soldiers he encourag'd with various fallacious Suppositions, telling them, " That *Narvaez* " was his very good Friend, and a Person of such " Honour, Integrity, and good Sense, that he " would not fail of hearing Reason, and would in- " fallibly prefer the Service of God and his Sove- " reign to the Interest of a private Man: That " *Diego Velasquez* had dispeopled the Island of " *Cuba* purely to gratify his revengeful Temper; " and, in his Opinion, he had sent him a fresh " Supply of *Spaniards* wherewith to prosecute his " Conquest; for he did not in the least doubt, but " he should make Fellow-Soldiers and Compa- " nions of those who were sent against him as " Enemies."

WITH his Captains he was less reserv'd. He communicated to them Part of his Suspicions, and reason'd, by Way of Prevention, upon the Accidents which might offer: He represented to them the small Skill *Narvaez* had in Military Affairs; the Rawness of his Men; the Injustice of his Cause, and other Motives of Encouragement, in which he conceal'd his real Sentiments, giving them, in Truth, more Hopes than he had himself.

LASTLY, He ask'd their Opinion, (as he was always accusom'd to do in Cases of like Importance) and disposing their Minds after such a Manner that they should advise him to what he thought best, he resolv'd first to try to bring Matters to an Accommodation, and to make such Proposals to *Narvaez* that he should not be able to refuse his offers without charging himself with all the Inconveniencies of a Rupture: But at the same Time he made Provision for the War, according to his wonted Diligence. He sent to his Friends of *Tlascalala* to get ready Six Thousand Soldiers for an Enterprize in which it was possible he might want

their Service. He order'd an Officer (who with Three or Four *Spanish* Soldiers, were in the Province of *Chinanila* to discover the Mines of that Part of the Country) to endeavour to dispose the *Caziques* to a Levy of other Two Thousand Men, and that they should have them ready to march with him at the first Notice. The *Chinantecas* were Enemies to the *Mexicans*, and had declar'd themselves for the *Spaniards* with Signs of great Sincerity, and had sent privately to offer them their Obedience. They were a valiant and warlike People, and with whom he thought it would redound very much to his Advantage to reinforce his Army: And recollecting, that he had heard the Lances which they us'd in their Wars highly commended, as being considerably longer than ours, and made of a very tough Wood, he ordered Three Hundred to be brought, to divide amongst his Soldiers, and arm'd them with Points of temper'd Copper, which sufficiently supplied the want of Iron; and this was his first Precaution, both because the Cavalry of *Narvaez* gave him no small Uneasiness, and because he had a Mind to have Time to instruct his Men in the Use and Management of those Arms.

In the mean while *Pedro de Solis* arriv'd with the Prisoners sent by *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and sending Notice to *Cortes*, expected his Orders at the Side of the Lake: But *Cortes*, who had been before inform'd of their coming, went out to receive them with more than ordinary Attendance. He immediately order'd their Fetters to be taken off, embrac'd them with great Humanity, and the Licentiate *Guevara*, more than once, with particular Civility, telling him, " That he would chastise "*Gonzalo de Sandoval* for the little Regard he had " shewn to his Person and Dignity." He afterwards

wards conducted him to his own Appartment, gave him his Table, and with a seeming Satisfaction, intimated several times, "how much he esteem'd the Happiness of having *Pamphilo de Narvaez* in that Country, on Account of the past Friendship and Intimacy that had been between them." He took Care that the *Spaniards* should all appear chearful and hearty before him. He made him a Witness of the Favours he received from *Moteczuma*, and the great Respect with which he was treated by the *Mexican* Princes. He presented him with some Jewels of Value, which greatly mollify'd the Violence of his Temper. He did the same by his Companions; and without letting them know that he stood in Need of their good Offices to incline *Narvaez* to Peace, he dispatch'd them in four Days, fully perswaded by his Reasons, and engag'd by his Liberality and courteous Treatment.

AFTER he had taken these politick Measures, leaving it to Time to ripen and to produce the Effect, he resolv'd to send some Person of Account to make such Proposals to *Narvaez*, as were reasonable and convenient for the common Interest and the Service of the King; and for this Negotiation he chose Fryer *Bartolomè de Olmedo*, a Person of known Integrity, Wisdom, and Eloquence, and supported by the Dignity of his Character. He hasten'd as much as possible his Dispatches, and gave him Letters for *Narvaez*, for the Licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, and for the Secretary *Andres de Duero*, with several Jewels to distribute as he should think proper. The Importance of a Peace was the Argument of those Letters; in that to *Narvaez*, He courteously bad him welcome to those Coasts, with Expressions of singular Respect and Esteem; And after reminding him of their

former Friendship and Intimacy, "He inform'd
 "him of the State of his Conquest; acquainting
 "him, at large, with the Provinces he had sub-
 "jected; the Sagacity and martial Genius of the
 "People; and the Power and Grandeur of *Mote-
 "zuma*." This he did, not so much to magnify
 his own Actions, as to make *Narvaez* sensible how
 much it imported them all to unite their Forces
 for compleating the Enterprize which was in so
 great a Forwardness. He gave him likewise to
 understand, "How much they ought to fear, lest
 "the *Mexicans*, a confederate and warlike Nation,
 "should come to the Knowledge of any Misunder-
 "standing amongst the *Spaniards*; for that they
 "would very well know how to make their Ad-
 "vantage, and destroy both Parties, to free them-
 "selves from a foreign Yoke." And, lastly, he
 "told him, That, to prevent all Disputes and
 "Accidents, it was absolutely necessary, that,
 "without farther Delay, he should acquaint him
 "with the Orders he brought; for if they were
 "from the King, he was ready to obey them,
 "give up his General's Staff, and the Army under
 "his Command: But if his Commission was only
 "from *Diego Velasquez*, they ought both of them
 "to consider with equal Attention, how much
 "they adventured; for that in any Dispute where
 "the King's Interest was concerned, the Preten-
 "sions of a Vassal were but of small Weight, and
 "might be adjusted at a cheaper Rate; it being
 "his Design to satisfy *Velasquez* for all the Expence
 "he had been at in fitting out the first Fleet, and
 "to divide with him not only the Profits but the
 "very Glory of the Conquest." After this Man-
 ner he concluded his Letter; but thinking he had
 dwelt too long upon the Article of Accommoda-
 tion, he added, by Way of Postscript, some brisk
 Expressions,

Expressions, letting him know, " That he did not
" make Use of Arguments because he wanted
" Force; and that he knew as well how to defend,
" as how to propose them.

PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ had taken up his Quarter, and lodged his Army in *Zempoala*; and the fat Cazique was very careful and sedulous in the Entertainments of, and Attendance upon those *Spaniards*, believing they came as a Succour to his Friend *Hernan Cortes*; but it was not long before he was undeceived: For he did not find in them the same Manner of Carriage to which he had been accustomed by his former Guests; and notwithstanding they had with them no Interpreter to make themselves be understood, their Actions spoke, and their Proceedings sufficiently distinguished them. He discover'd in *Narvaez* an imperious ill-natured Disposition, which gave him great Suspicion; and he had no room to doubt when he saw him take by Force all the Furniture and Jewels which *Hernan Cortes* had left in his House. The Soldiers, to whom the Liberty their Commander took, serv'd for an Example, treated their Hosts like Enemies, and put in Practice whatever Avarice, and a licentious Thirst for Rapine, could dictate.

THE Licentiate *Guevara* soon after arrived, and related the Success of his Journey; the Grandeur and Magnificence of *Mexico*; how well *Hernan Cortes* was received in that Court; how much he was beloved by *Moteczuma*, and respected by his Vassals: He extolled the Humanity and Courtesy with which he had received and entertained him; and from that he passed on to what *Cortes* so earnestly desir'd, " That it might not be known that
" there was any Misunderstanding among the *Spaniards*." But when he was going to propose an Accommodation, he could not prosecute his Dis-

course, for *Narvaez* cut him short, telling him, " That he might return to *Mexico*, if the Artifices " of *Cortes* had made so mighty an Impression " upon him ;" and thrust him from his Presence with great Rudeness and Disrespect. But the Priest and his Companions sought a new Auditory ; passing with their News and Presents, to the Assemblies of the Soldiers, and obtain'd what most of all import'd the Care and Diligence of *Cortes* ; for some were moved by the Reasonableness of his Arguments ; others by his Liberality, and all remained disposed to Peace, the most part beginning to have a Suspicion of the ill Temper of *Narvaez*, from his present Obstinacy.

FATHER *Bartholomé de Olmedo* soon followed *Guevara*, and found in *Pamphilo de Narvaez* much more Pride and Haughtiness than Good Nature and Humanity. He deliver'd his Letters, and the other having read them out of Compliment, and with the Air of one who puts a Constraint upon himself, dispos'd himself to hear what he had to say ; giving him to understand, That he suffered the Embassy purely for the Sake of the Ambassador. The Father's Harangue was eloquent, expressive, and substantial. He began " with the " Obligations of his Profession, to interpose himself as a disinterested Mediator in these Differences ;" endeavoured to set forth the Sincerity of *Cortes*, as an Eye-Witness to all his Proceedings, and bound to speak the Truth. Next he assured him, " That it would be no difficult Matter for " him to obtain any Thing that should be propos'd, provided it was reasonable, and for the " Service of the King." Then he represented, " What a Hazard they ran by those Misunderstandings ; and what an extraordinary Advantage " it would be to *Diego Velasquez*, if he would co-operate

“ operate with these Forces to compleat the Conquest; and added, “ That having them at his Command, he ought to weigh the Use he was to put them to with the present State of Affairs; a Point which must be presuppos’d in his Instructions; since it was always left to the Discretion of the Captain, to chuse the Means by which he was to obtain the End propos’d: And a Commander was always obliged to act according to the Times and Accidents, left in the Execution of his Orders he should destroy the Intention thereof.”

THE Answer of *Narvaez* was precipitate and confus’d; he said, “ That it did not become *Diego Velasquez* to make Conditions with a rebellious Subject, whose Chastisement was the first and principal Business of that Army: That he would immediately proclaim for Traytors all those who espous’d the Interest of that Rebel; and that he had brought sufficient Force to take the Conquest out of his Hands, without having any Occasion for the Advice of those who, being equally guilty, made use of the same Reason to persuade him which they had to fear him.” Father *Bartholomé*, still preserving his Temper, replied, “ That he should consider well, what he intended to do; for before he arrived at *Mexico*, he would find whole Provinces of warlike *Indians*, Friends and Confederates to *Cortes*, who would not fail to take up Arms in his Defence; and that it would not be so easy to suppress him as he imagin’d, since his *Spaniards* were all resolutely determined to dye with him; and besides, he had *Moteczuma* on his Side; a Prince so powerful, that for every single Soldier he had brought with him, he was able to raise a numerous Army.” And lastly he told him, “ That an Affair of this

“ Nature was not to be resolved in Haste, but required Deliberation, and a second Reflection; adding, “ That he would return for his final Answer.”

WITH this Bravado the Father took his Leave, for he thought it was necessary to abate that Confidence *Narvaez* had placed in his Forces, on which he chiefly founded his Obstinacy.

HE proceeded presently to put in Execution the other Part of his Instructions. He visited the Licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, and the Secretary *Andres de Duero*, who highly commended his Zeal, approving what he had propos'd to *Narvaez*, and offering to assist in his Dispatches with their utmost Power, in order to establish a Peace, which was so very necessary to all. Then the Father visited the Captains and Soldiers of his Acquaintance; published his Commission; endeavoured to support the good Intention of *Cortes*; made them all desirous of a Reconciliation; distributed the Jewels and other Curiosities he had in Charge with good Judgment, and had Reason to hope that there would be a Party formed in favour of *Cortes*, or at least in Favour of an Accommodation, had not *Pamphilo de Narvaez*, who had Notice of these Practices, put a Stop to his Proceeding. He ordered him to be brought before him, loaded him with Injuries and Threats, called him a *mutinous and seditious Traytor*, giving the Name of Treason to his founding amongst his People the Praises of *Cortes*, and was determined to have secured his Person, had not the Secretary *Andres de Duero* interposed, at whose Instances he alter'd his Mind, and commanded him immediately to depart from *Zempoala*.

BUT the Licentiate *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, being informed of what passed, came very seasonably and gave his Opinion, “ That it would be “ proper

“ proper first to assemble all the Officers, that they
“ might consider more deliberately what Answer
“ should be returned to *Hernan Cortes*, since he
“ shewed himself disposed to Peace; and it seem’d
“ no difficult Matter to bring it about upon Terms
“ reasonable and advantageous to all.” To which
Proposal were very much inclined some of the Officers who were present: But *Narvaez* heard him with a sort of Impatience which savoured somewhat of Contempt; and in order to stop all their Mouths at once, he, before them all, made a solemn Declaration of War, with Fire and Sword, against *Hernan Cortes*, causing the same to be publickly proclaimed, pronouncing him a Rebel and a Traitor to the King, assigning a considerable Reward to any, who should either take or kill him, and giving Orders that the Army should prepare to march.

BUT that Minister, not being able to endure those Irregularities, and who was indeed obliged to put a Stop to such violent Proceedings by his own Authority, commanded the Cryer to desist, causing it to be signified to *Narvaez*, “ That he should not
“ stir a Foot from *Zempoala* upon Pain of Death,
“ nor employ those Forces without the unanimous
“ Consent of the whole Army.” He commanded the Captains and Soldiers not to obey him, and persisted in his Protests, and in exerting his Authority with such Resolution, that *Narvaez*, quite out of Patience, blind with Choler, and losing all Respect to his Person and Function, ordered him to be ignominiously apprehended, and immediately carried away on board one of his Vessels to the Island of *Cuba*. Upon which Fryer *Bartholomé de Olmedo* returned very much scandalized without any farther Answer; and his own Captains and Soldiers themselves were so highly incensed, that the most Intelligent, seeing a Minister of that Rank and Character
arrested

arrested, found themselves obliged to consider privately of some Measures for the Service of the King; and those of less Judgment had Matter sufficient for Disaffection and Murmuring against their Captain. This Insolence of *Narvaez* gave the Affairs of *Cortes* a happy Turn, confirming him in the good Opinion of the Soldiers; and the false Steps and Mismanagement of his Enemy served to raise his Reputation as much as the Prudence of his own Conduct.

C H A P. VII.

Moteczuma continues his good Offices toward Cortes and his Spaniards. The Alteration which some attribute to the Practices of Narvaez looked upon as fictitious and improbable. Cortes resolves to depart, and executes that Resolution, leaving a Part of his Force in Mexico.

SOME of our Writers report, That *Pamphilo de Narvaez* held a Correspondence of great Intimacy and Friendship with *Moteczuma*; that Couriers went and came from *Mexico* to *Zempoala*, by whose Means he gave the Emperor to understand, “ That
 “ he brought a Commission from the King of *Spain*
 “ to chastise the Violences and Exorbitances of *Cortes*. That not only that Captain, but all those
 “ who followed his Banners, were Fugitives and
 “ Rebels; and that having understood how greatly
 “ his Majesty was oppressed, he proposed immediately to march with his Army, in order to restore him to his Liberty, and the peaceable Possession of his Dominions;” with other the like
 malicious

malicious Impostures. To which they add, That *Moteczuma* charmed with those Hopes, not only carried on a friendly Correspondence with him, but also made him several great and valuable Presents, concealing the Matter from *Cortes*, and desiring to break his Prison by clandestine Practices.

We know not how this Intelligence could ever come to *Moteczuma*: For *Narvaez* had no Interpreters to make himself understood amongst the *Indians*, and such a concerted Negotiation could never be carried on by Signs and Dumb-Shew. None of his *Spaniards* came to *Mexico*, except the Licentiate *Guevara*, and his Companions, which *Sandoval* sent; and these had never any private Conference with *Moteczuma*. And even had *Cortes* been guilty of such a Piece of Negligence, they could not possibly have been intelligible to each other without making use of *Aguilar* or of *Donna Marina*; a Supposition wholly inconsistent with what is related of their untainted Fidelity. We must believe then, that the *Indians* of *Zempoala* knew by their Behaviour, Countenances, and other exterior Tokens, the Enmity and Opposition between those two Armies, of which Intelligence was sent to *Moteczuma* by his Confidants and Ministers; since it is not in the least to be doubted but that he had the Account before it was imparted to him by *Cortes*: But from his Actions it plainly appears, That he kept his Mind inviolably firm, and was wholly free from any underhand Design against the *Spaniards* of *Mexico*.

It is not denied but that the Emperor sent some Presents of Value to *Narvaez*; but it cannot be concluded from thence that there was a Correspondence between them: For these *Mexican* Princes were accustomed so to regale all Strangers who happened to touch on their Coasts, as *Moteczuma* had done to *Cortes* and his Followers; and he might conceal

conceal, without Artifice, that Instance of his Liberality, as being agreeable to an established Custom, or, perhaps, to avoid Ostentation in his Generosity. But it is observable, that in those very Gifts, whether concealed or otherwise, there were some casual Circumstances, which turned to the Credit of *Cortes*; for upon the Receipt of them, *Narvaez* expressed more Attachment to them than was becoming; for after he had counted them over with great Exactness, he ordered them to be set aside with superabundant Care, without making the least Shew of Liberality to his greatest Confidants. And the Soldiers (who though never sensible of their own insatiable Avarice, never fail to condemn it in their Generals) began to be dispirited with this Disappointment of their Hopes; and mixing their own proper Interests amongst the Causes of the present Divisions, they judged *Cortes* had the most Reason on his Side, as being the most liberal and generous.

FATHER *Bartolome de Olmedo* at length returned from his Journey, and *Hernan Cortes* found in his Relation all that he suspected of *Narvaez*. He was not so much concerned on his own Account, at the Contempt shewed of the Proposals he had made as he was on Account of the Undertaking. He was sensible, by the Imprisonment of the Auditor *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, what little Regard must be had to the King's Service, by a Man who could carry his Insolence to such a Length. He heard without Resentment, (at least outwardly) the injurious and reviling Language with which his Adversary treated him: And Authors do with Justice very much commend his Moderation, that when he received Advice from several Hands of the Contempt with which he spoke of his Person, the Indecencies and Bitterness of his Reflections, and how often he took the Liberty to brand him with the infamous

infamous Name of Traitor, he was never heard to utter an unseemly Expression, or to call *Pamphilo de Narvaez* by any other than his own Name. A rare Constancy, and a Mastery of the Passions worthy to be envied! to receive Outrages, and at the same Time preserve Moderation!

GREATLY did *Cortes* comfort himself with the News which Father *Bartholemé de Olmedo* brought him, of the good Disposition he found in the People of *Narvaez*, who for the most Part were desirous of Peace, and but little affected to the Opinion of their Commander; so that he did not doubt but that he should be able to face him as an Enemy, and bring him to the Terms he desired, either by Force, or the Disaffection of his own Soldiers. He communicated his Thoughts to his Officers, and having jointly and maturely considered the Inconveniences on all Sides, they held it for the least hazardous to take the Field with all the Troops they could possibly assemble, to incorporate the *Indians* who were ready provided in *Tlascala* and *Chinantla*, and afterwards to march in a Body towards *Zempoala*; but with a Resolution to halt in some confederate Town, where they might be nearer at hand to treat of Peace, have the Advantage of capitulating with Arms in their Hands, and the Conveniency of being in a Place where they might pick up such of the People of *Narvaez* as should determine to quit his Party. This Resolution was immediately published amongst the Soldiers, and received with great Applause and Chearfulness. They were not ignorant of the great Inequality of Number between them and the contrary Party; but they were so far from entertaining the least Thoughts of Fear, that even those who had least Bravery and Zeal disputed the Glory in serving in this Expedition; and it was necessary to make Use both of Intreaties and Authority,

thority, when the Time came to name those who were to be left in *Mexico*, so great was the Confidence they had fixed, some in the Prudence and Conduct, others in the Intrepidity and Valour, but all in general in the good Fortune of their Commander; for so they termed that extraordinary and uninterrupted Series of Success with which he was wont to accomplish whatsoever he took in Hand. And such a Constancy of Success has great Force on the Minds of Soldiers, and would have still greater if they knew how to attribute to their true Author those unlooked-for Events which are called good Fortune, because they proceed from a Cause not understood.

HERNAN CORTES, provided with various Pretences, repaired immediately to *Moteczuma's* Apartment, to give him an Account of his intended March, concealing, as much as possible, his inward Concern: But the Emperor obliged him to give a new Turn to his Discourse by beginning the Conversation, and saying, "That he had for some Time observed him to be very thoughtful, and was concerned that he should conceal from him the Cause of his Discontent; for he had from different Parts received Information, That the *Spanish* General residing in *Zempoala*, came with bad Intentions against him and his Followers; that he did not so much wonder that they should be Enemies for some personal Prejudice, and private Misunderstanding, as that, being Vassals to the same Prince, they should head two Armies of contrary Factions, by which it plainly appeared, that one of them must of Necessity be a Rebel to his Sovereign."

THIS unexpected Account from *Moteczuma*, and his Reasoning in the Conclusion of it, might have embarrassed *Cortes*; nor did it fail to shock him
in

in some Measure: But with that natural Promptitude with which he was always accustomed to disengage himself upon such Occasions, he answered without Hesitation, “ That those who had made
“ their Observations upon the bad Intentions of
“ those *Spaniards*, and the imprudent Menaces of
“ their unadvised Commander, had informed him
“ of no other than the Truth, and he now came
“ with a Design to communicate the same to him,
“ having not had it in his Power to comply sooner
“ with this Obligation, because Father *Bartolomé*
“ *de Olmedo* was but just arrived with the News.
“ That notwithstanding the *Spanish* Captain, who
“ was at *Zempoala*, had given some Proofs of a
“ disorderly Passion, yet he was not to be looked
“ upon as a Rebel, but rather as a Person deceived,
“ who imagined he was serving his Prince while
“ he was doing the Reverse; for he came thither
“ in Quality of a Substitute, or Lieutenant, from a
“ misinformed Governor, who residing in a very
“ remote Province, was not acquainted with the
“ last Resolutions of the Court of *Spain*, and was
“ persuaded that the Embassy in which himself was
“ employed was an Affair belonging to his Office.
“ But that all the Preparations to support so frivolous a Pretension would easily vanish, without
“ any farther Trouble than his laying before that
“ Lieutenant his Dispatches, by Virtue of which
“ he had full Power and Jurisdiction over all the
“ *Spaniards*, both Officers and others, who should
“ arrive upon those Coasts: And that therefore,
“ before his Ignorance and Misinformation should
“ engage him to take any farther false Steps, he
“ had resolved to direct his March to *Zempoala*,
“ with Part of his Forces, to dispose those *Spaniards*
“ to return to their Ships; and that he would
“ make them sensible, that they were now to re-
“ spect

“spect the Subjects of the *Mexican* Empire as a
“People under the Protection of the King of *Spain*:
“That he would immediately put this in Execu-
“tion; the principal Motive of hastening his De-
“parture being the just Consideration of prevent-
“ing them from approaching his Court, that Army
“being composed of Men too little disciplined to
“be admitted into his Neighbourhood, without
“running the Hazard of occasioning some Distur-
“bance amongst his Vassals.”

AFTER this Manner *Cortes* endeavoured, as well as he could, to interest that Prince in his Resolution; and *Moteczuma*, who already knew the Vexations of which the *Zempoalans* complained, commended his Design; holding it expedient, that he should endeavour to keep at a Distance from the Court, Troops guilty of such violent and irregular Proceedings: But it appeared to him as an Act of Temerity in *Cortes*, that since those *Spaniards* had already declared themselves his Enemies, and were so disproportionately superior to him in Force, he should expose himself to the Hazard of being not regarded and destroyed by them. He offered to furnish him with an Army that should support him, the Leaders whereof should be under his Command, and intirely at his Devotion, since he would give them strict Orders to respect and obey him as they would do himself if he went in Person: A Point which he repeated, and with many Instances earnestly insisted upon, by which he gave convincing Proofs of his Sincerity and Affection, without any Mixture of Fallacy or Affectation. *Hernan Cortes* thanked him for his Offer, but excused himself from accepting it; for in reality he placed but a slender Confidence in the *Mexicans*; neither did he care to run the Hazard of admitting Auxiliary Forces which might command him; as one who well knew
how

how embarrassing it was in Actions of War; to have at once the Front engaged, and the Flanks exposed.

THE Motives of his Journey being after this Manner softened, he next imployed his whole Care in the necessary Preparations for his setting out, resolving to make Use of the Intelligence he had with the Soldiers of *Narvaez* before this latter should take the Field. He determined to leave in *Mexico* eighty *Spaniards* under the Command of *Pedro de Alvarado*, which in the Opinion of all was most prudently resolved; because that Officer was highly in *Moteczuma's* Favour, and besides his being a Gentleman of great Courage and good Sense, had the Advantage of being an accomplished Courtier, and was naturally of a free ingaging Behaviour; so that with all the Resolution that was necessary to overcome the greatest Difficulties, he could likewise have Recourse to Policy when he found Strength was not sufficient. The General gave him in Charge, "That he should do his utmost to keep *Moteczuma* "in that kind of Liberty which might make him "insensible of his Confinement, and should prevent, as much as possible, his having any long "Conferences with the *Mexicans*." He left under his Care all the Treasure, as well that belonging to the King his Sovereign, as to particular Persons; and above all, he made him sensible, "how much "it imported to keep that Part of his Forces in the "Mexican Court, and that Prince at his Devotion; "that being the Point to which he ought to direct "all his Actions, as the Foundation of their common Security."

To the Soldiers he gave Orders, "That they "should obey their Captain, and serve, and respect "Moteczuma with greater Diligence, Circumspection, "and Submission than ever; and that they should

“ be careful of maintaining an amicable Correspondence with those of his Family and Court:” Exhorting them, for their own Security, to Union among themselves, and Civility towards others.

He dispatched a Courier to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with Orders, “ That he should march out to meet him, or, with the *Spaniards* under his Command, wait his coming at the Place where he proposed to halt, leaving the Fortrefs of *Vera-Cruz* to the Care of the Confederate *Indians* ;” which, in Effect, was little less than abandoning it. But it was now Time to think of dividing his Forces, neither would that Fortification, which was built only to keep off the *Indians*, be capable of resisting the *Spaniards* if they had a Mind to attack it. He took Care of what Provisions were necessary, that he might not have them to seek, or be forced to extort them from the Peasants. He procured a Body of *Indians* of Burthen, who were to carry the Baggage ; and the next Day being fixed upon for the March, he ordered High-Mass to be celebrated, whereat he commanded, that all the Soldiers should be present, in order to recommend to God the good Success of their Enterprize ; protesting before the Altar, “ That he desired nothing but to do Service to God and his King, which in that Juncture were inseparable : That he went without Hatred, or Ambition, having his Duty only in View, and was assured that the Justice of his Cause would plead for him before God and Man.”

He next went to take his Leave of *Moteczuma*, and earnestly requested him, “ That he would protect that small Number of *Spaniards* he had left with him, and would be pleased not to abandon them upon any Account whatsoever ; for the least Change or Diminution of his Favour to-
wards

“wards them, if observed by his Subjects, might
“occasion great Inconveniencies, which would re-
“quire extraordinary Remedies; and that he should
“be very sorry to find himself, at his Return,
“obliged to approach that Person complaining,
“from whose Presence he departed so well satisfy’d.”
To which he added, “That *Pedro de Alvarado* was
“left to represent his Person; and that as he had
“transferred to him the Prerogatives belonging to
“the Character of Ambassador, during his Ab-
“sence, he had likewise bound him under the same
“Obligation to do every Thing that should be for
“his Majesty’s Service; and that he did not doubt
“but that he should return very speedily to his
“Presence, free from all these Perplexities, to re-
“ceive his Orders, prepare for his Voyage, and
“carry to the Emperor his Sovereign, together
“with his Majesty’s magnificent Presents, the News
“of his Friendship and Confederacy, which would
“be to him the Jewel of far greater Value than all.”

MOTEZUMA again began to express his Concern,
that he should set out with so unequal a Force, and
intreated him, “That if there was no other Way
“to decide the Dispute but by Arms, he would
“endeavour to delay the coming to an open Rup-
“ture till the Arrival of the *Mexican* Succours,
“which he would not fail to get ready, in what
“Number he desired. He gave him his Word not
“to forsake the *Spaniards* which he left with *Pedro*
“*de Alvarado*, nor change his Habitation during
“his Absence.” *Antonio de Herrera* adds, That he
accompanied him a good Way out of Town with
his whole Retinue of Courtiers; but maliciously at-
tributes this Respect not to any real Friendship,
but to the earnest Desire he had to see himself freed
from the *Spaniards*, supposing him to be already
disaffected to *Hernan Cortes* and his Followers, and

glad to get rid of them at any Rate. What appears is, that he punctually kept his Promise, continuing in the same Lodging, and in the same Benovelence towards the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding great Disturbances happened, all which he might have remedied by returning to his own Palace. And in his whole Procedure, as well in what he did in the Defence of those *Spaniards* who were near his Person, as in what he left unattempted against the rest in that Disunion of their Forces, it is evidently demonstrable, that he cannot be justly charged with the least Double-Dealing, or any Alteration in his Intentions. It is true, that at last he began to wish they were gone, because the Quiet of his whole Realm absolutely required it; but he never once resolved to break with them, nor ever forgot the Royal Safe-Guard, under the Protection of which they resided at his Court. And though such Considerations seem to belong to a less barbarous Prince, and were little answerable to the Character of *Motezuma*, yet so total a Change of this *Indian's* Temper was one of the Miracles which God wrought to facilitate the Conquest: For the extraordinary Affection and respectful Fear which he always had for *Cortes*, were so directly opposite to his unbounded Pride, and so contrary to his Nature, that they may very well be imputed to a Divine Inspiration.

C H A P. VIII.

Hernan Cortes *directs his March towards Zempoala. Is disappointed of the Succours which he expected from Tlascala. Continues his March as far as Matalequita; from whence he again makes Overtures of Peace, and, with new Provocation, declares War.*

THEY began their March, following the Road of *Cholula* with all the Caution and Care which the Security of the Army required, and which Custom had now made easy to the Soldiers, by long Experience grown perfect in the Art of War, inur'd to the Hardships which attend it, and accustomed to obey without murmuring or disputing. They were received in that City with a chearful Welcome, the servile Dread with which these People first paid their Obedience, being now converted into an unfeigned affectionate Veneration for their Conquerors. From thence they passed on to *Tlascala*, and half a League from that City they found a splendid Appearance of the Nobility, and the whole Senate. The Entrance was celebrated with great Demonstrations of Joy, answerable to the fresh Lawrels with which the *Spaniards* returned, after having deprived *Moteczuma* of his Liberty, and somewhat abated the exorbitant Pride of the *Mexicans*. A Circumstance which increased their Applauses, and greatly bettered the Treatment of the Army. The Senate immediately went to deliberate upon the Answer which they were to give to *Hernan Cortes*, concerning the Auxiliary Forces he had desired of the Republick. And here we find another Disagreement of our Authors, a Misfortune which too frequently

quently occurs in the Accounts of the *Indies*, obliging us sometimes to embrace that which has the Appearance of Probability, and very often to be at abundance of Trouble to search for what is only possible. *Bernal Diaz* says, That he demanded four thousand Men, and that they gave him a Refusal, with the Pretence, That their Soldiers durst not take up Arms against the *Spaniards*, for that they found themselves incapable of resisting the Horses and Fire-Arms. And *Antonio de Herrera* affirms, That they gave six thousand effective Men, and offered him a greater Number; adding, that the six thousand were actually incorporated amongst the *Spanish* Companies, and that at three Leagues Distance from their City they turn'd back, as not being accustomed to fight far from their own Confines. But be it as it will, (for it is not of any Importance, nor can we pretend to rectify every Error) it is very certain, that the *Tlascalans* did not appear upon this Occasion. *Hernan Cortes* demanded their Militia more to make a Noise and Shew with *Narvaez*, than that he much confided in their Arms, or depended on their Service against the *Spaniards*. But it is likewise certain, that he parted from that City without Complaint or Distrust of the *Tlascalans*; for he sought them afterwards, and found them always ready when he had any Occasion for their Service against other *Indians*; in which Engagements they were valiant and resolute, as appears by their having always preserved their Liberty in Spite of the whole Power of the *Mexican* Emperor, so near his capital City; and that under the Reign of a Prince who centered his greatest Vanity in the Renown of being called a Conqueror.

THE Army stay'd but a short Time in *Tlascala*, and, hastening their March, they pass'd on to *Matalequita*, a Town of *Indian* Friends, distant twelve

Twelve Leagues from *Zempoala*, where almost at the same Instant, arriv'd *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with the Troops under his Command, and Seven Soldiers more, who, the Day after the Imprisonment of the Auditor *Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon*, had from the Army pass'd to *Vera-Cruz*, as from that Action having a Suspicion of the Party they were engag'd in. From those *Spaniards* *Cortes* was inform'd of all that was transacted in his Enemy's Quarters, and *Sandoval* gave him yet fresher Accounts: For before setting out, he had found Means to introduce into *Zempoala* Two *Spanish* Soldiers, who most artfully imitated the Behaviour and Gesture of the *Indians*, nor were they very much unlike them in their Complexion: These Men voluntarily and cheerfully stripp'd themselves, and concealing their Nakedness with the barbarous Cloathing of that Country, early in the Morning enter'd into *Zempoala*, with each a Basket of Fruit upon his Head, and placing themselves amongst the rest of those who sold that Sort of Provision, truck'd their Fruit for Glass, and so dexterous were they in feigning the Eagerness after Trifles, and the Simplicity of the Native Peasants, that no one regarded them; so that they went all about the Town, and escaped in Safety with what Intelligence they had got: But not contented with this, they resolv'd to bring Proof of what Sort of Watch this Army kept in the Night, and return'd a Second Time, with each of them a Load of Grass, amongst some *Indians* who had been out a Forraging; and did not only discover the Enemy's little Vigilance in their Quarters, but confirm'd it by bringing off to *Vera-Cruz* a Horse which they had the Address to convey away from the very Parade, without meeting with the least Opposition; and it happened to belong to Captain *Salvatierra*, one of the most zealous in

exasperating *Narvaez* again *Hernan Cortes*: A Circumstance which made the Prize much more valuable. These Two Soldiers, notwithstanding they perform'd, upon this Occasion, all that could be expected from Industry and undaunted Resolution, yet their Names are unfortunately and unjustly conceal'd, in the Relation of an Enterprize so well executed, and in a History wherein we find, at every Step, Actions of far less Moment register'd as Honours to the Name of the Performers.

CORTES founded a great Part of his Hopes upon the small Skill and Experience the opposite Party had in Military Affairs; and the Negligence with which *Phamphilo de Narvaez* govern'd the Troops under his Conduct, furnish'd his Imagination with various Designs: This Negligence proceeded, as *Cortes* very well knew, from the Contempt in which that General held the inferior Force of the *Mexican Spaniards*; nor was he at all displeas'd at it, since it caus'd in the Enemy's Army, a Security so favourable to his Designs, and which seem'd to fight for him: Nor was he out in that Manner of arguing; it being evident, that Security is an utter Enemy to all Precaution, and has occasion'd the Ruin of many a Commander. It ought to be reckon'd amongst the greatest Dangers of War; for, generally speaking, when Two Armies come to measure their Strength, the despis'd Enemy gets the better.

In the mean while *Cortes* was not idle; and tho' he press'd his Competitor with repeated Instances to accommodate their Difference in an amicable Way, as wisely considering that Proposals of Peace ought to precede the Rupture on his Side, yet he made all necessary Preparations for War. He muster'd his Men, and found he had Two Hundred Seventy Six *Spaniards*, including the Officers, and those

who

who came from *Vera-Cruz* with *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, without reckoning the *Indians* of Burthen he had to carry the Baggage. After this he dispatch'd Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* a second Time, to make his ultimate Efforts for the adjusting of all Matters in Dispute; but it was not long before that Ecclesiastick sent him Advice of the small Success of his Negotiation. But *Cortes* desiring still to do something more in order to justify himself, and to gain Time till the Two Thousand *Indians* which he expected from *Chinantla* were arrived, he resolv'd to send Captain *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, as believing, that his Authority, and near Relation to *Diego Velasquez*, might make his Mediation better accepted. He had experienc'd the Fidelity of this Captain, who a few Days before had made him repeated Protestations of dying by his Side, if there was Occasion, and had put into his Hands a Letter sent him by *Narvaez*, wherein he made him very advantageous Offers, if he would espouse his Interest. And to this noble and ingenuous Procedure *Cortes* made a Return, by confiding to his Management so important and delicate a Negotiation.

It was generally believed, when he arrived at *Zempoala*, that he came determin'd to follow the Banners of his Kinsman *Diego Velasquez*; and *Narvaez*, with a numerous Retinue, went out to receive him: But when he began to understand his Commission, and found he was endeavouring to justify and support the Cause of *Cortes*, he broke off the Discourse, and with some Passion abruptly left him, tho' not altogether without Hopes of reducing him; for before he renew'd the Conversation with him, he gave Orders to muster his whole Army in his Presence, desiring, in Appearance, either to terrify or convince him with this vain Ostentation of his Strength. Some advis'd *Nar-*
vaez

vaex to secure his Person; but that he durst not attempt, by Reason that Gentleman had many Friends in the Army; on the contrary he invited him to Dinner the Day following, as he likewise did all the Officers who were his greatest Friends, and in whom he most confided, to assist him in his Endeavours to bring that Captain over to his Party. The Beginning of the Conversation was all Civility and Compliments: But amidst their Mirth, and the Liberties of the Feast, there began soon after some Ralleries to be introduc'd against *Cortes*. And notwithstanding Captain *Juan Velasquez* for some Time endeavour'd to dissemble his Uneasiness, that he might not ruin the Negotiation he was entrusted with; yet, when they came to indecent Expressions, and utter'd injurious Invectives against *Cortes*, he could no longer contain himself, but said aloud with some Warmth; "That they should enter upon
" some other Discourse, and not before a Man like
" him, speak ill of his absent General;" adding,
" That whosoever amongst them all, did not esteem
" both *Hernan Cortes*, and every one of his Fol-
" lowers for good and loyal Subjects to the King
" of *Spain*, if he would say it before fewer Wit-
" nesses, he would undeceive him after what Man-
" ner he pleas'd." They were all silent, and *Pamphilo de Narvaez* was likewise very much embarrass'd about the Return of an Answer: But a young Captain, a near Kinsman of *Diego Velasquez*, and of his own Name, took upon him to tell him,
" That none was worthy either of being of the
" Blood, or of bearing the Name of *Velasquez*,
" who so strenuously maintain'd a Traytor's Cause." To which *Juan Velasquez* answer'd by giving him the Lye, and drew his Sword with so determin'd a Resolution to chastise his Insolence, that they had all of them sufficient Trouble to pacify him and
prevent

prevent Mischief: In short, they desir'd him to return to the Camp of *Cortes*, to avoid the Inconveniencies which his staying there might produce. He instantly did so, taking with him Father *Bar-tolomé de Olmedo*, and let fall some Words at Parting intimating Revenge, and which seem'd to threaten an open Rupture.

SOME of the Officers were much dissatisfy'd that *Narvaez* had suffered him to depart without making up the Quarrel between him and his Kinsman, in order to hear his Proposal, that they might have return'd an Answer, good or bad, according to what he had in Commission to offer: They said, "That a Person of his Consideration and Authority ought to have been treated with more Respect; and that from his Judgment and Sincerity it could not be supposed, that he would come with any preposterous or unreasonable Message: That the nicest Punctilios of War never went so far as to hinder the Freedom of hearing: Nor was it good Policy, nor the right Way to appear formidable to an Enemy, to give him Cause to believe they fear'd his Reason." These Discourses pass'd from the Officers to the Soldiers, who were so sensible of the unjustifiable Procedure in this War, that *Pamphilo de Narvaez* was oblig'd, in order to quiet them, to name a Person, who, in his own and in the Names of the whole Party, was to excuse and apologize for that Want of Civility, and to inquire of *Cortes*, what was the Substance of *Juan Velasquez de Leon's* Commission; and for this Purpose they unanimously chose the Secretary *Andres de Duero*, who having less Partiality against *Hernan Cortes*, seem'd the fittest Person for the Satisfaction of the Malecontents; and upon Account of his being withal a Domestick Servant to *Diego Velasquez*, might, by those who
were

were averſe to an Accommodation, be better conſidered in than any other.

HERNAN CORTES, finding by the Account which Father *Bartelomé de Olmedo* and *Juan Velasquez de Leon* had brought him, that he had made more than ſufficient Advances towards a Peace, and holding it now abſolutely neceſſary to come to a Rupture, he remov'd his Troops, with a Deſign of approaching nearer to the Enemy, and of ſeizing ſome advantageous Poſt where he might attend the Arrival of the *Cbinantecas*, and act as Occaſion ſhould offer.

He was upon the March when his Scouts came back with Intelligence, that the Secretary *Andres de Duero* was coming from *Zempoala*; and *Hernan Cortes*, not without Hopes of ſome favourable News, advanc'd to receive him: They ſaluted each other with equal Demonſtrations of Affection, renewing with repeated Embraces their former Friendſhip. The Officers all congratulated his Arrival with great Demonſtrations of Joy and Satisfaction; and before they came to the immediate Point of the Negotiation, *Cortes* made him ſeveral valuable Preſents, accompany'd with Promiſſes of much more. He ſtay'd till the next Day, after Dinner, during which Time they had ſeveral private Conferences with great Freedom and Intimacy. They diſcourſ'd of ſome Mediums, in order to a Union between the Two Parties, and were very deſirous of finding out a Way to reduce *Narvaex* to Reaſon, whoſe Obſtinacy and untractable Temper was the only Obſtacle to the deſir'd Peace. *Cortes* went ſo far as to offer to relinquish to his Competitor the *Mexican* Expedition, and to go with his Followers in Queſt of other Conqueſts. And *Andres de Duero*, ſeeing him act ſo nobly and generously with his Enemy, propos'd an Interview; nor doubting but that

that he might prevail with *Narvaez* to give him a Meeting, and that by a personal Conference between those Two Rivals, all their Disputes and Animosities would be the easier surmounted. Some say, that he carried Orders with him to make that Proposal: Others, that it was a Thought of *Cortes*; but all agree, that an Interview was resolv'd upon, and adjusted, as soon as *Andres de Duero* return'd to *Zempoala*; by whose Care and Diligence an authentick Agreement was made, assigning the Hour and Place where the Conference was to be held; each giving Assurance, under his Hand, that he would come to the Place appointed, accompanied with only Ten Friends, who were to serve as Witnesses to whatever should be said, transacted, or agreed upon.

But at the very Time while *Hernan Cortes* was preparing himself to observe with all Punctuality, on his Part, the Conditions of that Agreement, *Andres de Duero* gave him private Notice, That *Narvaez* had resolv'd to lay an Ambush with a Design to take or kill him; which being likewise confirmed by others of his Friends, he was so stung, that he wrote to *Narvaez*, giving him to understand, "That he had discovered his base unmanlike Treachery, and that from that Moment he renounc'd all Thoughts of Accommodation, remitting his farther Satisfaction to the Decision of the Sword." Had it not been for this timely Advice, his Credulity and sincere Manner of Proceeding would have hurry'd him blindly into the Hands of his implacable Enemy; and he was scarce capable of justifying himself to his own People, for this Want of Caution, or precipitate Confidence, in trusting to *Narvaez* after so many repeated Proofs of his sinister Intentions. But nevertheless he cannot justly be accus'd of having
acted

acted the Part of an imprudent Commander in putting that Confidence in his Competitor's Word; since upon such Occasions, Breach of Faith is a Villainy of so black and infamous a Nature, that an Enemy ought never to be suspected of it: For such perfidious Wiles as those are not to be allow'd a Place among the Stratagems of War; nor are Treacheries and Deceits which leave a Stain upon the Honour of those who commit them, ever to be excused even in the most inveterate and rigorous War.

C H A P. IX.

Hernan Cortes continues his March till within a League of Zempoala. Pamphilo de Narvaez takes the Field with his Troops. Is oblig'd to retire by the Badness of the Weather. Cortes resolves to attack him in his Quarters.

HERNAN CORTES was rather animated, than incens'd at this fresh Instance of his Competitor's Brutality. An Enemy capable of such base groveling Thoughts appear'd unworthy of his Apprehensions; and he believed that one who had endeavour'd to secure a Victory at the Expence of his own Honour and Reputation, could never have any great Dependance either upon himself or his Partisans. He pursu'd his March with more than ordinary Diligence and Expedition, not that he had absolutely determin'd upon the Measures he was to take, but having his Heart full of Hopes, he was spurr'd on by a certain Confidence which seldom

feldom fails to be the Forerunner of Success. He took his Station within a League of *Zempoala*, in a Place where his Front was defended by a River, call'd the River of *Canoas*, and his Rear by the Neighbourhood of *Vera-Cruz*. He found here some Cottages, sufficiently commodious to quarter his People and to refresh them after what they had suffered from the scorching Heat of the Sun, and the Fatigues of that tedious March. He order'd some Scouts to pass on the other Side of the River, where he likewise posted Centinels; and giving the first Hours to the Repose of the Soldiers, he deferr'd consulting with his Officers what Measures were to be taken, till he should receive Intelligence from the Enemies Army, in which he had gained some Friends, and believed, that when Opportunity offer'd, all who had a Dislike to this War would espouse his Interest; which Supposition, and the small Experience and Capacity of *Narvaez*, gave him sufficient Encouragement to venture so near *Zempoala*, without the Imputation of Imprudence or Temerity.

NARVAEZ had Information of the Place where his Enemy was lodg'd; and with more Hurry and Precipitation than Conduct and Circumspection, and with a Haste which appeared very like Confusion, he drew out his Troops into the Field, where he immediately ordered the War to be proclaim'd, as if it had not already been sufficiently publish'd. He assign'd a Reward of Two Thousand Pieces of Eight to any one who should bring him the Head of *Cortes*, and a lesser Price for those of *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and *Juan Velasquez de Leon*. He issued out several Orders at once, never forgetting to express his Inveteracy, and still mixing Threats with all he spoke, and every Thing he did shew'd a great Contempt of his Enemy, but still with some Appearances

ances of Dread. His Troops being at last ranged in Order, not by any Disposition of his, but by that of the Officers, who did their Duty without much minding what he said, he march'd about a Quarter of a League at the Head of his Army, being determined to halt and wait for *Cortes* in the open Field, foolishly persuading himself, that he had so little Judgment as to attack him in a Place where he might make all the Advantage of the great Superiority of his Numbers. Obstinately persisting in that vain Credulity, he continued in that Post the whole Day, wasting his Time, and deceiving himself with vain Imaginations. He had already distributed amongst his Soldiers the Enemy's Spoil, enriching his Captains with the Treasures of *Mexico*, and talked very much of the Victory, but little or nothing of the Engagement. But as the Sun was just upon setting, the Weather grew extremely dark and cloudy, and there fell so prodigious a Quantity of Rain, that the Soldiers bestowed many bitter Curses upon their Expedition, and, with loud Clamours, demanded to return to their Quarters. The Officers likewise soon grew as impatient as the rest, and without much Difficulty prevailed with *Narvaez*, who also had his Share of the general Uneasiness, they being all unaccustomed to resist the Inclemencies of such tempestuous Weather, and many of them averse to a War which was like to be attended with so many Inconveniences.

NARVAEZ had a little before received Information, that *Cortes* kept himself on the other Side of the River; from which he reasonably enough conjectured, that he had nothing to apprehend from the Enemy for that Night: And as People are generally very willing to believe what they desire, they all unanimously agreed, that it was absolutely necessary to retire, which they did, in great Disorder,

order, running to seek for Shelter, more like Men flying before an Enemy, than like Soldiers upon a March.

NARVAEZ would not suffer his Forces to separate that Night; rather because he designed to take the Field early in the Morning, than for any Jealousy he had of *Cortes*, notwithstanding he affected the Vigilance and Care which a General ought to have when an Enemy is so near him. They all lodged themselves in the principal Temple of the City, which consisted of three Towers, or Chapels, at a small Distance from each other, seated on an Eminence, sufficiently capacious, to which they went up by many ill-contrived Steps, the Steepness and Difficulty of whose Ascent very much added to the Security of the Height. On the Top of the Stairs he planted his Artillery. For himself he chose the middle Tower, to which he retired with some Officers, and about one hundred Soldiers of those in whom he most confided; and the rest of his Troops he distributed in the other two, sending out some Horse to scour the Neighbourhood, and ordered two Centinels to be posted at the Avenues; and with these Precautions, which in his Opinion, left nothing undone with respect to good Discipline, he devoted the Remainder of the Night to Rest; and so far was he from imagining or surmizing any Danger, that he gave himself up to Sleep, without taking any farther Care or Concern.

ANDRES DE DUERO instantly dispatched away one he confided in, and who could go out of the Place unsuspected, to inform *Cortes* by Word of Mouth of their Return, and in what Manner they had disposed themselves in their Quarters, rather to make him easy by this friendly Advice, that he might pass the Night in Quiet, than to stir him up to new Designs. But *Cortes* upon this Notice de-

laid but little in determining to lay hold of the favourable Opportunity which invited him. He had maturely premeditated all the Accidents which might offer themselves during the Course of this War; and, as sometimes a Man must shut his Eyes to Difficulties, (which always appear greatest at a Distance) and there are some Cases where Reasoning is an Enemy to Execution, he called his People together without more Delay, and put them in Order, notwithstanding the Tempest continued: But his Soldiers, already inured to greater Fatigues, obeyed without complaining of the Badness of the Weather, or inquiring the Occasion of so unseasonable and unexpected a Motion; so much they depended upon the Prudence and good Conduct of their Leader. They passed the River with the Water above their Middle, and this Difficulty being overcome, he made them a short Speech, wherein he communicated to them his Resolution, yet not refusing to hear their Advice. He informed them with what Confusion and Disorder the Enemy had retired, seeking to shelter themselves in Quarters to defend them against the Rigour of the Night: He likewise told them how they were divided, and the Manner how they were distributed in the Towers of the Temple: He aggravated the Carelessness and Security in which they were, and with what Facility they might be attacked before they could be able to unite, or have Room to draw up: And perceiving that his Proposal was not only approved but applauded, he pursued his Harangue with fresh Ardour: *This Night, my Friends, said he, this Night, Heaven has vouchsafed to put into our Hands the most favourable Opportunity that Desire itself could frame: You shall this Night be Witnesses of the great Confidence I repose in your Courage; and I must ingenuously confess, that it is your known Valour alone which in-*
spires

spires me with these bold Attempts. A few Hours ago we expected our Enemies here, with the Hopes of vanquishing them by the Advantage of this River; now we have them supinely careless and disunited, the very Contempt with which they treat us fighting on our Side. From the shameful Impatience with which they quitted the Field, flying from the Inclemency of the Night, (a slight Inconvenience) we may readily gather what Use those Men well make of that Ease which they sought with such pusillanimous Weakness, and enjoy without Jealousy or Suspicion. Narvaez has but little Knowledge of the Niceties and Punctuality to which the Chances of War oblige Men: His Soldiers are for the most Part Novices, People picked up in Haste, who have never seen any Service, and will not find it very easy to rally in the Obscurity of the Night, since a little Matter will put them into Disorder in the Presence of the Sun. Many have been disobliged, and complain of their Captain's Conduct; nor are there wanting some who favour our Party, and not a few who hold this War in Detestation; and Arms feel heavy when they move against Inclination: But both the one and the other must be treated like Enemies till they declare themselves, for should they overcome us we shall be the Traitors. Notwithstanding Reason and Justice is on our Side, yet in War Reason is an Enemy to the Negligent, and generally declares for the Conquerors. They come to take from you all that you have acquired; nor do they aspire at less than to be the absolute Lords of your Liberties, Goods, and Hopes. They will call our Victories theirs: Theirs the Land which you have conquered at the Expence of your Blood: Theirs the Glory of your heroick Exploits: And the worst of all is, that while they endeavour to tread on our Necks, they seek to ruin the Service of our Sovereign, and put a Stop to the Progress of our Religion; for those will be lost if we are vanquished; and notwithstanding the Fault will be

theirs, yet it will be questioned who are the guilty. The Way to prevent these Evils is to behave yourselves this Night with your accustomed Intrepidity: You are far better able to execute than I am to dictate; betake yourselves to your Arms, and forget not your Custom of conquering: Have God and the King in your Hearts, Honour before your Eyes, and strengthen your Hands by remembering the Justice of your Cause: I will be your inseparable Companion in all the Danger, and I less pretend to encourage you by my Words, than I do to persuade you by my Example.

THEIR Minds were so fired with this Speech of Cortes, that the Soldiers made pressing Instances not to delay the March. They all acknowledged the Justness of his Resolution, and some protested to him, "That if he once offered to think of any Accommodation with *Narvaez*, they would withdraw their Obedience." Words of Men resolute and determined, which did not sound ill in the Ears of Cortes, because they rather expressed Briskness than Disrespect. Without Loss of Time he formed three small Bodies of his Men, which were to succeed each other in the Assault. The first he committed to the Charge of *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, consisting of sixty Men, in which Number were comprehended the Captains *Jorge* and *Gonzalo de Alvarado*, *Alonso Davila*, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, *Juan Nunez de Mercado*, and our Historian *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*. For Commander of the Second, consisting likewise of sixty Men, he named the *Maestre de Campo*, *Christoval de Olid*, assisted by *Andres de Tapia*, *Rodrigo Rangel*, *Juan Xaramillo*, and *Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia*. Cortes himself commanded the rest, with the Captains *Diego de Ordaz*, *Alonso de Grado*, *Christoval* and *Martin de Gamboa*, *Diego Pizarro*, and *Domingo de Albuquerque*. The Disposition was, "That *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with the
" Van-

“ Van-Guard, should endeavour to overcome the
“ first Difficulty of the Stairs, and hinder the
“ Enemy from making Use of their Artillery, di-
“ viding his Men so as to interrupt the Communi-
“ cation of the two Towers on the Sides; and
“ taking great Care to make his Soldiers observe
“ a profound Silence. That *Christoval de Olid* should
“ mount immediately and invest the Tower where
“ *Narvaez* was lodged, and carry on the Attack
“ with all the Vigour possible: That the General
“ himself should, with those who followed him,
“ take Care to back them, and to animate and
“ assist wheresoever his Presence was most necessary;
“ and that as soon as they had given the Attack,
“ the Drums should beat, and the other warlike In-
“ struments should sound, that so unexpected a
“ Noise might contribute to strike a Terror into
“ the Enemy, and increase their Confusion.”

FATHER *Bartolome de Olmado* then began his Spi-
ritual Exhortation, and observing to them, That
they were going to fight for the Cause of God, dis-
posed them to do what was necessary on their Part,
in order to merit his divine Favour. There was a
Cross in the Road, which they themselves had fixed
there when they had passed to *Mexico*, before which
they all fell down on their Knees, while the pious
Ecclesiastick dictated to them an Act of Contrition,
which with Voices, expressing a fervent Zeal, they
all pronounced after him: He then ordered them to
recite the general Confession of Faith; and giving
them his Blessing and Absolution, he left their
Minds inspired with an Ardour, which, though
their Thoughts were before generous and resolute,
was of a sublimer and more refined Nature; for the
Quiet of a Man's Conscience either removes the
Horrors and Apprehensions of Danger, or gives a
nobler Motive to the Contempt of Death.

THIS Act of Devotion being over, *Hernan Cortes* put his three little Battalions into Order: He disposed the Pikes and Fire-Arms in their proper Places; repeated to the Officers their Instructions, and very particularly recommended Silence to all: The Word he gave them was *El Espiritu Santo*, i. e. *The Holy Ghost*, it being then *Whitsontide*. He then began his March, in the same Order they were to give the Assault, keeping a very slow Pace, that they might not arrive tired, and to give the more Time to the Enemy to indulge themselves with Rest, intending to take Advantage of their Security and Negligence, to overcome them at less Expence, without having the least Scruple for his acting upon this Occasion, with less Generosity than he was wont, in this Manner of surprizing his Enemy, called by the Antients the Malice of Generals and Commanders; for all Stratagems, which are not actual Breach of Faith, are lawful in the Military Art; and the Preference between the Conduct and the Courage of a Soldier is disputable.

C H A P. X.

Hernan Cortes arrives at Zempoala, where he finds Opposition. He obtains the Victory, and takes Narvaez Prisoner, whose Troops he obliges to serve under his Banner.

CORTES had marched somewhat more than half a League, when his Scouts returned with a Centinel of *Narvaez*, whom they had surprized and taken Prisoner, and informed him, that the other, his Companion, who was a little behind, had escaped among the Bushes; an Accident which destroyed

stroyed their Supposition of finding a sleeping Enemy. Upon this they held a short Consultation amongst the Officers; and it was unanimously agreed, That it was wholly improbable that the Soldier, in case he had discovered their March, would be so bold as to return by the direct Road, but would rather take a round-about Way to avoid the Danger. The Result of all was, without Delay to hasten their March, that they might, if possible, arrive at the Enemies Quarters before that Spy, or at least as soon as he; supposing that if they had not the Advantage of assailing them sleeping, they should find them scarce well awake, and in the Disorder of their first Surprise. Thus they argued as they went, still advancing with the utmost Expedition, and when they came near the Town, they left their Horses, Baggage, and other Incumbrances, at a Brook a little out of the Road. But the Centinel, whose Fear gave him Wings, arrived some Minutes before them, and gave the Alarm, crying out as loud as he could, *The Enemy is upon us.* Those who were most alert instantly betook themselves to their Arms, and brought that Soldier before *Narvaez*, who after asking him some Questions, made Slight both of the Intelligence and the Person who brought it; holding it for a Thing impossible, that *Cortes* durst have the Presumption to seek him with so small a Number, within his very Lodgment, or that he could march in a Night so dark and tempestuous.

It was but a little more than Midnight when *Hernan Cortes* reached *Zempoala*, and he had the good Fortune not to be discovered by the Enemies Cavalry, who, it is probable, had either lost their Way in the Obscurity of the Night, or had quitted the Road to seek some Shelter against the Rain. He entered the Town, and came with his Troops within Sight of the Temple, without finding any *Corps de*

Garde, or Centinel to challenge him. The Dispute was then at the highest between *Narvaez* and the Soldier, who affirmed, he not only saw the Enemies Van-Guard, but likewise the whole Army upon a hasty March: But *Narvaez* and his People still found Pretences to justify and indulge their Security; and in canvassing and weighing the Probability of that Intelligence, lost that Time, which even had the News been more improbable than they imagin'd it, ought to have been imployed in Prevention; walking backwards and forwards in the uppermost Porch, some dubious of the Truth of the Intelligence their Commander had received, and others less diffident, giving Credit to it; but all in general with their Arms in their Hands, and little less than prepared for whatever might happen.

CORTES soon perceived they had discovered him: And finding himself now in the second of the Cases which had been before considered, resolved to give the Assault before they should put themselves in Order. He made the Signal for the Attack, and *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with his Van-Guard, began to mount the Stairs, according to the Instructions he had received. Some of the Men belonging to the Artillery, who were upon Guard, heard the Noise, and firing two or three Pieces, gave a second Alarm, which sufficiently convinced them all of the Truth of the first. The Noise of the Artillery was immediately succeeded by that of the Drums, and confused Voices; and presently those who found themselves nearest at Hand, repaired to the Defence of the Stairs. The Opposition soon increased, and the Dispute came to Push of Pike and Sword. *Gonzalo de Sandoval* was extremely put to it, being to force his Way against a far superior Number, with the Disadvantage of lower Ground: But it was not long before *Christoval de Olid* came up to his Relief, and

and *Hernan Cortes*, leaving his Rear formed, threw himself, Sword in Hand, into the hottest of the Engagement, facilitating the Advance of both those Captains, and animating his Men both by his Example and Voice; whose Resolution and Impetuosity the Enemy unable to withstand, in a few Moments began to give Ground, quitting the last Step; and soon after retreating in great Disorder, abandoned the Porch, and the Artillery. Many fled to their Quarters, others repaired to the Gate of the principal Tower, where the Dispute again began, and continued for some Time with equal Courage on both Sides.

PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ, who by his Friends Persuasion, had stayed to arm himself, now made his Appearance: He encouraged, with his Words, those who were engaging the Enemy, and did all he could to put them in Order. He then advanced with so much Boldness into the thickest of the Fight, that being near one *Pedro Sanchez Farfan*, a Soldier of *Sandoval's* Company, that Man gave him a Thrust in the Face with his Pike, which struck out one of his Eyes, whereupon he fell down, without being able to say any more than, *I am a dead Man!* The News of this Accident soon spread amongst his Troops: They were all seized with Fear and Consternation, the Effects of which were various; for some abandoned him shamefully, others stood motionless as if they had been Thunder-struck; and those who were most desirous of doing their utmost to succour him, fought like Men amazed, and in Confusion at the Suddenness of the Accident; inso-much that they found themselves obliged to retreat, leaving the Conquerors at Liberty to convey him away, who carried, or rather dragged him down Stairs. *Cortes* sent Orders to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, to take Care of securing his Person, which was put
in

in Execution, by delivering him to the Body of Men which was in the Rear: And that Commander, who a little before beheld this War with so careless an Eye, upon the Recovery of his Senses, found himself not only grieved with the Pain of his Wound, but also in the Power of his Enemies, and with two Pair of Fetters upon his Legs, without the least Prospect of obtaining his Liberty.

THE Dispute was now, for want of Resistance, at an End. The Followers of *Narvaez* all shut themselves up in their Towers, so greatly terrified that they durst not offer to fire one Shot, and only took Care to defend the Entrance. The Partisans of *Cortes* with loud Voices proclaimed their Victory, some repeating the Name of *Cortes*, others that of the Emperor *Don Carlos*, and the most considerate invoked the *Holy Ghost*. These Acclamations of anticipated Joy did not a little serve to increase the Enemy's Consternation, which was, in that Juncture, further augmented by an accidental Circumstance which made them believe that *Cortes* had brought thither a very powerful Army, which, to their thinking, filled a great Part of the circumjacent Country; for from the Windows of their Towers they discovered Lights at different Distances, which through the Night's Obscurity appeared to their Eyes like lighted Matches in the Hands of numerous Bands of Harquebusiers. These Lights were no other than certain Insects which shined by Night like Glow-Worms, but much brighter, and of a larger Size than those in our Hemisphere: An Apprehension which had a very singular Influence upon the Minds of the more vulgar Part of the Army, and inspired with Doubts and Mistrusts even those who shewed themselves most resolute. So apt are Persons in Distress to be deceived by Fear, and so

greatly

greatly do the flightest Casualties turn to the Advantage of the Fortunate.

CORTES commanded his Men to cease their Acclamations of Victory, the unseasonable Belief of which is very often of bad Consequence, and ought to be avoided and prevented, because it renders Soldiers careless and disorderly. He gave Orders that the Artillery should be turned against the Towers, and caused a general Pardon to be proclaimed for those who would surrender; offering very reasonable Conditions, and a Communication of Interests to all those who would resolve to follow his Banners; Liberty and free Passage to those who were willing to return to the Island of *Cuba*, and to all in general Security for their Persons and Baggage. This Declaration was very prudently considered; for it greatly imported that he should publish his Intentions before the Day (whose Dawn was not far off) should discover to the Soldiers of *Narvaez* the inconsiderable Number of their Enemies, and give them Courage to recover from the Terror they were in: For sometimes Fear is converted into Rashness, out of mere Shame for having been alarm'd without suitable Foundation.

THEY had scarce finished the Publication of Pardon at the three separate Holds where the Enemy had retreated, when the Officers and Soldiers, in whole Troops, came to surrender themselves. As they arrived they every one delivered up their Arms, and *Cortes*, with his accustomed Urbanity, received them very courteously, but caused his Friends, as well as the others, to be disarmed, either to conceal their Inclinations, or that their Example might serve as a Precedent to the rest. The Number of those who surrendered increased to that Degree in a few Moments, that it was necessary to separate
and

and secure them with sufficient Guards, till Day should discover their Countenances and Affections.

IN the mean while *Gonzalo de Sandoval* did not forget *Narvaez*, but had his Wound carefully dress'd; and *Hernan Cortes*, who indefatigably went up and down to every Quarter, and considered *Narvaez* as his principal Care, went to see him, not intending to discover himself, that he might not add to his Affliction by his Presence; but the Respect his Soldiers shewed him at his Approach discovered him; and *Narvaez* turning himself towards him with the Air of one who was not thoroughly sensible of his Misfortune, said, "Be thankful and value yourself, Captain, upon the good Fortune you have had in making me your Prisoner." To which *Cortes* replied, "Thanks be to God for all Things, Friend: But without any manner of Vanity, I do assure you, that I account this Victory, and your Imprisonment amongst the least considerable Actions which have been done in this Country."

CORTES had Notice brought him, that one of the Towers, in which the Captains *Salvatierra* and *Diego Velasquez* the Younger had fortified themselves, made an obstinate Defence, those Officers, by their Authority and Persuasions, preventing the Soldiers who were with them from surrendering: Whereupon *Cortes* immediately returned to the Temple, and caused them to be summoned, and acquainted, that if they would not surrender, they should be treated with the utmost Rigour of War; and finding they were resolutely bent either to defend themselves to the last, or to capitulate, he, not without some Heat, gave Orders to play with Two Pieces of Artillery upon the Tower; but presently after, he directed his Gunners to discharge against the Top of the Building, more to terrify than

than to hurt them. This Order they punctually executed, and there needed no more Trouble, to bring out the greatest Part of the Defendants to ask Quarter, leaving the Entrance of the Tower free; which *Juan Velasquez de Leon* soon possessed himself of, with a small Body of his Men, seizing the Captains *Salvatierra* and *Velasquez*, both declared Enemies, and who, it was to be feared, might aspire to supply the Vacancy of *Narvaez*. This completed the Victory in Favour of *Cortes*: On his Side only Two Soldiers were killed, and some few wounded, of which Number Two more are said to have died afterwards. Of the contrary Faction were killed a Captain an Ensign, with Fifteen private Men, and the Number of the Wounded was much more considerable. *Narvaez* and *Salvatierra* were sent to *Vera-Cruz* with a sufficient Guard. Young *Diego Velasquez* remained Prisoner with *Juan Velasquez de Leon*; and notwithstanding he had given him a just Cause of Resentment upon Account of what had happened at *Zempoala*, he took particular Care both of his Cure and Entertainment, to which he was partly moved by the Tye of Blood, but chiefly by a noble and generous Inclination. All this was performed before the Morning, and was a remarkable Action both on Account of the Justness of the Measures which *Cortes* took, and the Oversights, and irregular Conduct of *Narvaez*.

At Break of Day arrived the Two Thousand *Chinanticas* which *Cortes* had demanded; and notwithstanding they came after the Victory, he was very glad of their Coming, that his Prisoners might see he did not want Friends to assist him. With Shame and Confusion did the poor vanquished *Spaniards* reflect upon the Condition in which they then found themselves. The Day-light set their Ignominy in full

full View before their Eyes: They beheld the Arrival of those Succours, and soon came to the Knowledge of the small Force with which *Cortes* had obtained the Victory: They cursed the Confidence of *Narvaez*, and condemned his thoughtless Indolence; all which Reflections made Way for their greater Esteem of *Cortes*, whose Vigilance and undaunted Courage they considered with no less Admiration. It is the Prerogative of Valour, more especially in War, not to be hated even by those who envy it. The Unfortunate may, indeed, be sensible of their Disgrace, and may feel it with Regret; yet the heroick Exploits of a Conqueror lose no Part of their Lustre in the Eyes of the Conquered: A Maxim which was never more verified than upon this Occasion; for there was not amongst all those Prisoners one Soldier but who had a secret Inclination to follow the Fortune of an abler Leader, (yet still without communicating his Sentiments to the rest) and to serve under the Banners of an Army where the Soldiers acquired both Honour and Wealth.

CORTES had no small Number of Friends amongst the Prisoners; many were affected with his Valour, and more were charmed with his Liberality. His Friends threw aside the Mask of Dissimulation, and gave a Beginning to the Acclamations with which all who were well affected presently declared themselves, and the better Part of the rest soon followed their Example. They were admitted to the Presence of their new General: Many would have cast themselves at his Feet, had he not prevented them with his Embraces. They all gave in their Names, disputing for the Preference on the Roll, nor was there one amongst so many who made the least Motion of returning to the Island of *Cuba*. And it was in this that *Hernan Cortes*

Cortes reaped the principal Advantage he propos'd in this Undertakeing; for he did not so much desire to conquer those *Spaniards*, as he did to bring them over to his Party. He made it his Business to sound their Inclinations, and having found them agreeable to his Wishes he presently order'd their Arms to be return'd; an Action which some of his Officers disapproved: But there wanted not Motives for this Confidence and Security. Those of the greatest Authority and Distinction among them were his real Friends, and the *Chinantecas* being there, was a considerable Security to his Party. The Prisoners acknowledg'd the Favour they receiv'd, and, with fresh Acclamations, applauded the Trust he put in them; and in a few Hours *Cortes* found himself possess'd of an Army of more than a Thousand *Spaniards*; the only Enemies who could give him Umbrage, safe in his Custody; a Fleet of Eleven Ships and Seven Brigantines at his Disposal; the last Effort of *Diego Velasquez* overthrown, and brought to nought; and himself Master of sufficient Force to return to his principal Conquest; all which was owing to his undaunted Heart, great Vigilance, and Military Skill; and to the Valour and Compliance of his Soldiers, who had first so readily approved of this dangerous Enterprize, and afterwards, with the Sword, had gain'd him not only the Victory, but the Credit of a wisely-form'd Resolution. For in the Opinions of Men (who bestow or deny Fame) to obtain the End is a Proof of a right Choice of Means; and Success for the most part gives the Reputation of Prudence to the rashest and most hazardous Undertakings.

C H A P. XI.

Cortes reduces the Cavalry of Narvaez which kept the Field. He receives Information, that the Mexicans had taken up Arms against the Spaniards which he had left with Moctezuma. He marches with his Army to Mexico, and enters that City without Opposition.

THE Cavalry of *Narvaez* did not appear that Night, which, had they been disposed at a Place of Arms, as so small a Distance from the Enemy required, might have been very troublesome to *Cortes*. But there all Military Rules were laid aside; and when once the Commander in Chief falls into the Errors of Negligence and Security, all the false Steps he makes seem less strange, since the Absurdities of his Conduct pass for Consequences. Those who had least Share in the Action made use of the Horses to make their Escape; and in the Morning came Advice, that they had joined those who were detach'd for Scouts the Night before, and made up a Body of about forty Horse, with which they beat up and down the Neighbourhood with a Countenance as if they intended to make Resistance. This News gave but little Umbrage; and *Hernan Cortes*, before he would proceed to violent Methods against them, sent Two Officers, *Christoval de Olid*, and *Diego de Ordaz*, to endeavour to reduce them by fair Means; which Commission they presently put in Execution, and, at the first Offer of their being admitted into the Army upon the same Footing with their Companions, brought them to Reason; the Example set them

them by the rest being sufficient to induce them all readily to come in and offer their Service to *Cortes* with their Arms and Horses. Immediate Care was taken of the Wounded, for whom and all the rest convenient Quarters were provided, upon which Occasion the *Cazique* and his *Zempoalans* assisted chearfully and diligently, celebrating the Victory, and disposing all Things for the Entertainment of their Friends with a kind of interested Joy, in which they seemed to breathe after their past Fatigues and Slavery.

HERNAN CORTES was not negligent as to what regarded the Security of the *Armada*; a very essential Point at this nice Juncture. He sent immediate Orders to Captain *Francisco de Lugo*, that he should cause the Sails, Tackling, and Rudders of all the Vessels to be brought ashore, and laid up at *Vera-Cruz*. He ordered that the Pilots and Mariners who came with *Narvaez* should come to *Zempoala*, and sent such a Number of his own, as he thought sufficient to take Care of the Hulls. With these he appointed one *Pedro Cavallero* to go in Quality of their Chief, or Supervisor, a sufficient Employment for *Bernal Diaz* to honour him with the Title of *Admiral* of the Sea.

AFTER this he dismissed the *Chinantecas*, making as great Acknowledgment for their Succour as if they had done him actual Service: He then allowed some Days for the Refreshment of his Troops, during which Time the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, and *Caziques* of the circumjacent Country, came to congratulate the *Good Spaniards*, or *Gentle Teules*, for so they called those who belong'd to *Cortes*. They renewed the Protestations of their Obedience, and made fresh Offers of their Friendship, accompanying these Demonstrations of Respect with many Presents and Regales, whereat

the People of *Narvaez* did not a little admire, beginning to experience the Advantages of the new Party they had embraced, in the Entertainment and Security of those *Indians*, who a little before had appeared discontented, fullen and terrify'd.

BUT notwithstanding this Chain of Success, *Cortes* had *Mexico* continually at Heart: The Danger to which he had left *Pedro de Alvarado* and his *Spaniards* expos'd, was never one Moment out of his Mind. He was sensible, that their Security depended solely on *Moteczuma's* keeping that Promise he had made him, of not attempting any Change in his Absence: An Obligation of no great Force, where the Princes are arbitrary, and their Will absolute, and where their Statesmen, with various Solutions, seldom fail of pretending to free their Sovereigns from all Tyes, maintaining, that they are not obliged to the Observance of their Words like private Men: An abominable State-Maxim, which upon this Occasion gave *Cortes* sufficient Ground for Apprehension, yet still without approving so base a Policy by an open Suspicion; for to admit, in any Manner, of a King's breaking his Word, is the same Thing as to acquit him of the Obligations of a Man of Honour.

HAVING fixed his Resolution of immediately returning to *Mexico*, and not being willing to take with him so numerous a Body of Men, for Fear of giving Umbrage to *Moteczuma*, and moving afresh the unquiet Spirits of his Courtiers, he determined to divide his Army, and employ some Part of his Troops in other Conquests. To this Effect he appointed *Juan Velasquez de Leon* to take two hundred Men under his Conduct, and march to the Province of *Panuco*, to pacify the Disturbances there, and *Diego de Ordaz*, with two hundred more, to people the Country of *Guazaccoalco*; reserving for himself

little

little more than six hundred *Spaniards*, a Number which he thought well proportioned for his Return to the *Mexican* Court with some Appearance of Modesty, yet without wholly laying aside the Marks of a Conqueror.

BUT at the very Time when this Disposition was going to be put in Execution, something new offered which obliged him to change his Resolutions: For he receiv'd a Letter from *Pedro de Alvarado*, wherein that Officer informed him, " That the "*Mexicans* had taken up Arms against him; and " in spite of *Moteczuma*, who had never once offered to leave the Quarters, had made such frequent Attacks, and in such Multitudes, that " himself and all who were with him, would be " inevitably lost, if they were not speedily succoured." This Intelligence was brought by a *Spanish* Soldier, accompany'd by an Ambassador from *Moteczuma*, whose Commission was to lay before *Cortes*, " That it had been intirely out of his " Sovereign's Power to repress the fury of his seditious Vassals: That his Royal Authority had " suffered extremely from those Mutineers: That " his Majesty assured him, he would never abandon "*Pedro de Alvarado*, and the *Spaniards*;" and lastly, he invited him to Court, with all possible Expedition, to apply a Remedy to that Evil. Whether it was upon Account of the ill Consequences that Sedition might produce to himself, or whether upon Account of the Danger his *Spanish* Guests were in, both the one and the other argue his Sincerity, and the great Confidence he reposed in *Cortes*.

THERE was no Occasion to consult about what Resolution was to be taken in this Case, for both Officers and Soldiers voted their immediate March to be absolutely indispensable: Some taking for a sea-

sonable and lucky Prefage this Accident, which served as a Pretext not to divide their Forces, and to return with the whole Body to *Mexico*, from the Reduction of which Place their future Conquests were all to commence. *Cortes*, without Delay, nam'd for Governor of *Vera-Cruz*, in Quality of Deputy, or Lieutenant to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, one *Rodrigo Rangel*, a Person in whom he confided, to whose Capacity and Care he might venture to trust the Prisoners, and the Preservation of his *Indian* Allies. He then caused his Army to be mustered, and after having deducted a Garrison proper to be left at *Zempoala*, with a sufficient Number for the Security of the Vessels, he found it to consist of a Thousand Foot, and One hundred Horse. He took different Routs, both to avoid incommoding the Country People, and for the greater Conveniency of procuring Plenty of Provisions; and appointed for the General Rendezvous, a Place well known near *Tlascala*, into which City they thought it necessary to march united, and in good Order: But notwithstanding several Commissaries were sent before, to furnish the Army on the March; all their Diligence was not sufficient to prevent those who march'd out of the principal Road from suffering Hunger sometimes, and frequently intolerable Thirst. These Fatigues and Hardships those who came with *Narvaez* endured without murmuring or being disheartened; tho' they were the same Men who, a little before, had given way to less Inconveniencies; which Change must be attributed either to the Example set them by the Veterans, or to the Hopes with which their Hearts were inspir'd, and may be also partly imputed to the Difference of the Leader, an Opinion of whom is generally wont to have a secret Influence upon the

the Soldiers, both as to their Courage in Battle, and their Patience in undergoing Hardships.

CORTES, before his setting out, sent an Answer to *Pedro de Alvarado*, by a Letter, and to *Moteczuma* by his Ambassador, giving them an Account of his Victory, Return and the Increase of his Army; that the one might be encouraged with the Hopes of powerful Succour; and the other might not be surprized to see him return with so great a Force, since the Disturbances in his Capital oblig'd him not to divide his Troops. He regulated his March by the Necessity he was under, making all the Expedition he possibly could; lessening the Hours of Refreshment, which he seemed to find even in the Fatigue he underwent. He made some Stay at the Place of Rendezvous to gather up his People, who came by different Roads, and at last arrived at *Tlascalas*, on the Seventeenth of *June*, with all his Troops in good Order. His Entry was splendid and joyful. *Magiscatzin* entertained *Cortes* at his own House. The rest were accommodated, respected, and well regaled, in their several Quarters. The *Tlascalans* could not well conceal their Hatred to the *Mexicans* under the Pretext of Love to the *Spaniards*. They gave an Account of the Conspiracy, and of the imminent Danger *Pedro de Alvarado* was in, with Circumstances in which there seemed more Prejudice than Truth: They exaggerated the Presumption and the Perfidy of that Nation, exciting the *Spaniards* to Revenge, and mixing their Counsel and Insinuations together with no great Artifice; Crimes magnified with a suspicious Zeal, and Truths in the Mouth of an Enemy, introduced by Way of Intelligence, but designed as Accusations.

THE Senate, upon this Occasion, resolved to make a grand Effort, and to get all their Troops

together to assist *Cortes* against the *Mexicans*, not without their own politick Reasons, which were better comprehended than concealed; for it plainly appeared, that under the specious Pretext of favouring the Cause of their Friend, their Design was to make use of his Forces to ruin, at once, the commanding Nation which they so much abhorred. This Disguise was easily seen thro'; and *Hernan Cortes*, after he had expressed his Acknowledgmnt, repressed the Pride with which they were disposed to follow him, opposing to the Instances of the Senate some seeming Reasons, which in Substance were no more than bare Pretences against Pretences. But he admitted of about Two thousand Men of their best Troops, with their respective Officers, or Commanders of Companies, to march with him, and which were of Service afterwards. He took these *Indians* with him, either for the greater Security of his Undertaking, or to preserve the Confidence of the *Tlascalans*, who already had the Reputation of being valiant in Engagements against the *Mexicans*; and he took no greater Number, that he might neither give Offence to *Moteczuma*, nor drive his mutinous Subjects to Despair; for his Intention was to enter *Mexico* in a pacifick Manner, and to try if he could reduce those People by gentle Methods, without giving way to his Anger, or thinking at that Time of the Punishment of the Guilty; he was desirous first to establish Tranquillity, and was sensible, that the quieting a Sedition, and terrifying the Seditious, are Two Things which are hardly practicable at one and the same Time.

HE arrived at *Mexico* upon St. *John's* Day, without having met with any Subject of Uneasiness in the Way, more than the Variety and Disagreement of the Intelligence he received. The Army pass'd
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the Lake without the least Opposition, tho' there wanted not Appearances that something had been intended; for they found the Two *Spanish* Brigantines stav'd to pieces, and half burnt; the Suburbs and Barrier at the Entrance abandon'd; the Bridges, which serv'd for the Communication of the Streets, broken down and all in a suspicious Silence; Signs which obliged them to slacken their Pace, the Infantry advancing with a slow March, and the Cavalry going before to reconnoitre. This Suspicion lasted till the *Spaniards*, who were with *Motezuma* in *Mexico*, discovering the Army, rais'd a great Shout, and dissipated their Apprehensions. *Pedro de Alvarado* came down with his People to receive them at the Gate of his Quarters, and they celebrated their common Felicity with equal Joy. Instead of saluting, they congratulated each other upon their Victories: All spoke, and all were interrupted; much was expressed by Embraces and broken Sentences; the usual Eloquence of Joy, where Sounds are far more expressive and significant than Words.

MOTEZUMA, followed by some of his Servants, went out as far as the outermost Court, where he received *Cortes*, with an Excess of Joy, in which all Majesty was laid aside. It is certain, (and no one denies it) that the Emperor desir'd his Coming, because he had then great Occasion both for his Forces and Counsel, to keep his Subjects under, and likewise because he was deprived of that kind of Liberty which *Cortes* gave him, suffering him to go out to his Diversion whenever he pleased; a Permission he would not make use of, during the whole Time of his Absence, notwithstanding his Confinement most certainly depended purely upon the Force of his Parole; the Compliance with which obliged him not to abandon the *Spaniards* in those troublesome Times.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO says, That *Hernan Cortes* repaid with ill Manners and Slight, all *Moteczuma's* Demonstrations of Respect: That he turned his Face from him, and retired to his Apartment, without either visiting him, or suffering himself to be visited by him; That he us'd some very disrespectful and uncivil Expressions towards him, even in the Hearing of his Servants. And adds, as his own Opinion, "That it was his being supported by such a Number of *Spaniards*, that made him speak with so much Boldness and Discourtesy." Thus says *Bernal Diaz*: But *Antonio de Herrera*, in his History, discredits *Cortes* still more; for he pretends to quote that General's own Expressions as a Proof of his irregular Procedure, in the following Words; "Many People have affirmed, that they have heard *Cortes* say, That if upon his Arrival, he visited *Moteczuma*, his Affairs would go well; and that he did not do it, holding him in small Account, because he found himself so powerful." And on this Occasion he quotes a Passage out of *Cornelius Tacitus*, the Substance of which is, That Prosperity makes great Commanders proud and insolent. Neither *Francisco Lopez de Gomara*, nor *Hernan Cortes* himself, in the second Relation of his Expedition says any Thing like this; and *Cortes* might sure have touch'd upon it, to have shewn the Motives which obliged him to a Procedure of so much Harshness, or to have made an Excuse. We leave to the Judicious and Unbiaffed to decide what Credit ought to be given to these Authors: But we beg leave to make some Scruple at believing that *Cortes* could ever be guilty of so fruitless and unseasonable an Absurdity. The same *Herrera* and *Castillo* agree, that *Moteczuma* opposed, as much as in him lay, the seditious Proceedings of the *Mexicans*; that he always with-held
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and repress'd them : That they attempted to force the Quarters ; and that *Pedro de Alvarado*, and all the rest who were with him, must infallibly have perished, had they not been protected under the Shadow of his Authority. No body offers to deny that *Cortes* was sensible of all this ; and his finding that Prince religiously punctual to all he had promised, left him not the least Room to surmise the contrary : It being preposterous to suppose, that he should foment an Insurrection which he sedulously endeavour'd to suppress, or that he should voluntarily continue among the very People whom he design'd to destroy. It seems an Action altogether inconsistent with the usual Prudence of *Cortes*, to shew a Contempt for a Person of whose Assistance and Protection there was so much Probability he might stand in Need ; nor was the Immoderation they charge him with, as the Effect of his Prosperity, at all natural to his Temper and Genius. It may be believed, or at least surmised, that *Antonio de Herrera* gave into this Particular with little or no Foundation, only by perusing the Manuscripts of *Bernal Diaz*, a prejudic'd Interpreter of the Actions of *Cortes* ; and, perhaps, he inclined to follow his Opinion, that he might have an Opportunity to bring in that Sentence of *Tacitus* : A dangerous Ambition in Historians, since it seldom fails of either wresting the Truth, or biasing the Narrative, purely to introduce the Remarks they like ; and it is not every one that will be at the Trouble of examining whether the Quotation and the Truth of the Fact agree.

C H A P. XII.

The Motives which induced the Mexicans to take up Arms. Diego de Ordaz, with some Companies of Men, is sent to make Discoveries in the City; falls into an Ambush the Revolters had laid for him; upon which Cortes determines to prosecute the War.

TWO or three Days before Cortes arrived at Mexico, the Rebels had retired to the other Part of the City, suspending all Hostilities; in which, according to what could be inferred from the Event, they had crafty and treacherous Views. They thought themselves secure in their excessive Numbers, and were grown proud upon their having killed three or four *Spaniards* in the past Engagements: An extraordinary Accident, from which (though at the Expence of many Lives) they assumed fresh Boldness, and greater Insolence. They knew Cortes was coming, and could not be ignorant how much his Army was increased, but they were so far from fearing him, that they retreated in that Manner, and left him the Entrance free, with the View of destroying all the *Spaniards* at once, after they were joined in the City. Their real Design in that mysterious Conduct was not at first understood, though their Retreat was looked upon as Policy; nor can one judge too suspiciously of the Motions of a known Enemy.

THE whole Army was quartered within the Walls of the spacious Palace, where both *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* were sufficiently accommodated. Guards and Centinels were distributed and placed, answerable to the Jealousy wherewith that mysterious Cessation

sation from Hostilities had inspired them. *Cortes* retired with *Pedro de Alvarado* to inquire into the Original of this Sedition, and to consider of Remedies upon the Knowledge of the Cause. And here we again meet with the same Variety and Contradictions by which the Course of our Pen has been frequently interrupted. Some say, That the Practices of *Narvaez* first induced the *Mexicans* to this Insurrection. Others, That *Moteczuma* himself contrived and fomented the Mutiny, as impatient of Confinement, and desirous of his Liberty; but it is not at all necessary that we dwell upon this Point, since we have already fully shewn upon what slender Foundations these private Negotiations are attributed to *Narvaez*; and *Moteczuma* has been sufficiently cleared from all such incoherent and contradictory Imputations. Some have affirmed the Source of this Sedition to have been the Loyalty and Fidelity of the *Mexicans*; reporting, that their sole Reason for taking up Arms, was in order to rescue their Sovereign from the Oppression he lay under; a Sentiment which comes nearer to Reason and Probability, than it does to real Fact. Others attribute this Rupture to the Zeal of the *Indian* Priests: And this Opinion indeed has some Appearance of Truth; for they were very officious in the Tumult, loudly publishing the Menaces of their Gods, inspiring the rest with that same Fury wherewith they themselves were disposed to receive their diabolical Oracles. They repeated to the People what *Satan* spoke by the Mouths of their Idols; and though they were not the first Movers of the Sedition, they were yet indefatigably active, and powerfully zealous in supporting it, by stirring up the People's Minds.

FOREIGN Writers are still far more remote from the Appearance of Truth, accounting the Origin and Motives of those Disturbances among the Cruelties

ties and Inhumanities with which they endeavour to discredit and blacken the *Spaniards* in their Conquest of the *Indies*: And the worst of all is, they support their Malice by citing *Bartolome de las Casas*, or *Casaus*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Chiapa*, whose Words they copy, and quote as an authentick infallible Proof of what they charge our Nation with, as being the Testimony of one of our own Authors, and a Person of no small Distinction. What he left in Writing, and which passes among his Works, is, “ That the *Mexicans* having appointed a publick Dance, of that kind which they call *Mitotes*, in order to divert and entertain *Moteczuma*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, taking Notice of the Jewels with which the *Indians* were adorned, called together all his Soldiers, and fell upon them, cutting them to Pieces to make himself Master of those valuable Ornaments, in the gaining of which infamous Spoils, he says, above two thousand of the *Mexican* Nobility were put to the Sword:” With which he leaves the Conspiracy on the Footing of a just Revenge. A preposterous, unaccountable Suggestion, neither probable, nor even possible. This Prelate did, at that Time, solicit the Relief of the *Indians*, and exaggerating the Oppressions they laboured under, had far less Regard to the Truth, than to the supporting of his own Assertions. The greatest Part of our Writers convict him of being ill-informed, both in this and other Enormities with which he has charged the *Spaniards* in his Writings. ’Tis happy to find him so well refuted, that we may the better treat him with that Respect which is due to his Dignity.

THE Truth of the Matter was, That *Pedro de Alvarado*, a little after the Departure of *Cortes* from *Mexico*, perceived, in the Nobility of that Court,

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less Respect and Complaisance than usual; which obliged him to behave himself with greater Caution, and to have an Eye to their Motions. He employed some Person in whom he could confide, to observe what passed in the City; and by them understood, That the People were contriving something extraordinary; that they held Assemblies in several Houses, with an ill-concerted Privacy, which though it concealed their Measures, yet plainly enough discovered their Intentions: However, he had such good Intelligence, as to learn assuredly, that there was a dangerous Conspiracy hatching against the *Spaniards*; nor was it long before he gained even some of the Conspirators themselves, who gave him a full Account of the whole Treason, aggravating the Circumstances, without forgetting their own Interest. A solemn Festival was drawing near, which they were annually wont to celebrate with those publick Dances, called *Mitotes*, in which there was a promiscuous Convention of Nobility and Plebeians, and indeed an Assembly of the whole City. This Day was pitched upon for their putting their Enterprize in Execution, as supposing that upon such an Occasion, they might assemble openly, without being taken Notice of, or giving any Jealousy. Their Intention was to begin the Dance, in order to get the common People together, and then in a Body, followed by the Multitude, to cry aloud for their Emperor's Liberty, and the Defence of their Gods; postponing the Publication of their Designs till then, as being of too great Importance to be hazarded among the Vulgar, till they might reasonable think themselves secure from Danger by their Numbers; and in reality their Scheme was not ill laid; nor is it often seen that the Wicked are defective in Contrivances how to perpetrate the Evil they have projected.

THE Morning before the appointed Day, some of the chief Promoters of the Sedition came to visit *Pedro de Alvarado*, and ask'd his Permission to celebrate their Festival, which was no other than a formal Compliment with which they thought to blind him; and he not having as yet his Suspicions sufficiently confirmed, granted their Request, upon Condition that they should not go armed, nor offer any human Sacrifices: But that very Night he understood, that they were busily employed in concealing a considerable Quantity of Arms in Houses near the Temple. This intirely dissipated all his Doubts, and gave Occasion for a very rash Action, which yet had some Appearances of a Remedy, and might have proved so, if he had gone about it with due Moderation. He resolved to assault them in the Beginning of their Festival, without giving them Time to take Arms, or raise the Populace; and accordingly he put it in Execution, going out at the Hour appointed, accompanied with fifty of his Men, as if his Curiosity to see the Diversion had led him thither. He found them all in a Manner intoxicated with Liquor, and Excess of Joy, that their Treason was hitherto undiscovered, and in so great a Forwardness. He attacked and put them to Flight with little or no Resistance, wounding and killing several who delayed running away, or leaping from the Galleries and Windows of the Temple. His Design was only to terrify and disperse them, which he indeed very easily compassed, but not without Disorder; for the *Spaniards* instantly fell to stripping the Dead and Wounded of their Jewels and Ornaments of Value: A Liberty not to be prevented at that Time, nor ever without the greatest Difficulty, when a Soldier finds himself with a Sword in his Hand, and Gold in View.

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PEDRO DE ALVARADO managed this Affair with more Heat than Foresight. He retired with the Satisfaction of a Conqueror, without acquainting the Populace with the Motives of his Anger. He ought immediately, upon the Spot, to have published the Treachery which those Nobles had been contriving against him; and should have exposed the Arms they had concealed, or have done something on his Part to gain, in his Favour, the Votes of the common People, who are always very easily moved against the Nobility: But he returned well satisfied and convinced that the Chastisement he inflicted upon the *Indians* had been just, and the Resolution absolutely necessary, and was ignorant how much it imported a successful Action to be supported by Equity and Reason. Those People who knew nothing at all of the Provocation, and beheld the Slaughter of the Nobility, and Spoil of their Jewels, attributed the whole Action to an avaricious Thirst, and were so enraged, that they presently ran to their Arms, and with little or no Solicitation from the first Conspirators, incorporated themselves into their Body, by which Means the Sedition was instantly swelled to a most formidable Monster.

HERNAN CORTES reprehended *Pedro de Alvarado* for his rash Procedure, and especially for his Want of Consideration, in hazarding himself and the best Part of his Forces, upon a Day when all the City was in Commotion, leaving his Quarters, and what should have been his chief Care, exposed to any Accident which might happen. He was likewise much concerned, that he had concealed from *Moteczuma* the first Notices he received of that Disturbance; for *Alvarado* did not confide in that Prince, till he saw him by his Side in the succeeding Dispute; whereas he should have communicated to him his Suspicions, if not to make Use of his

his Authority, yet, at least, to sound his Mind, in order to discover whether or no it was safe to leave him with so weak a Garrison, which was the same Thing as to turn his Back upon an Enemy of whom he ought to have been most jealous. He blamed his Inadvertency that he did not publickly justify himself to the People, and even to the Delinquents themselves, for such a violent Proceeding. By all which it is manifestly obvious, that neither in the Action itself, nor the Motives, or Circumstances, was there any of that premeditated Malice which has been imputed to him : For most certainly *Cortes* would not have been satisfied with reprehending only a Misdemeanor of so much Injustice and Cruelty, nor would have let slip that Opportunity of punishing, or at least confining him, in order to introduce Peace by that kind of Satisfaction : But, on the contrary, we find that *Alvarado* himself proposed his own Imprisonment, as a Means to facilitate the Reduction of those People, but *Cortes* did not approve of that Method, because he thought it was a better Way to make Use of the same Reason, which *Alvarado* himself had against the first Mutineers, to undeceive the Populace, and weaken the Faction of the Nobility.

THE Seditious kept close all the Evening, nor was there afterwards any Thing to disturb the Quiet of that Night. The Morning came, and *Hernan Cortes* observing the same suspicious Silence to be still among the Enemy, made no Doubt but that they were at their Cabals, since not one Soul was to be seen in the Streets, nor any where about, as far as the Eye could discern ; infomuch, that he ordered *Diego de Ordaz* out into the City to dive into the Bottom of that Mystery. He took with him four hundred *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* Soldiers, and in good Order began to march through the principal Streets.

Streets. He had not gone far before he discovered a pretty numerous Company of armed Men, which the Enemy, it seems, had detached on purpose to decoy and draw him on; and he still advancing with a Design to make some Prisoners, in order to get Intelligence, discovered an innumerable Multitude of *Indians*, who marched up to his Front; when looking back, he beheld another Army in his Rear, which had been concealed in the neighbouring Streets, on each Side, cutting off his Retreat. Both Bodies attacked him at once with equal Fury, and at the same Time there appeared at the Windows, and in the Terraces of the Houses, a third Army of the common People, which in a Manner hindered our Men from breathing, darkening the Air with Stones, and all Sorts of missive Weapons.

DIEGO DE ORDAZ, who, upon this Occasion, stood in Need of all his Valour, Resolution and Experience to extricate himself, with Speed, and in good Order, from the Danger he was in, divided his Battalion according to the Ground, making a second Front with his Rear, employing Pikes and Swords against the two Torrents of Enemies below, and plying his Fire-Arms against those who were above. It was wholly impracticable for him to advertise *Cortes* of the Danger he was in; nor did the General think it any way necessary to reinforce him without such Notice, as presuming that he had sufficient Force to execute the Orders he had given him: But the Heat of the Engagement was of no long Continuance; for the *Indians* attacked so tumultuously, that, confounded by their own Numbers, they hindered each other from making Use of their Arms; and so many of them lost their Lives at the first Assault, that the rest retired to such a Distance, that they could neither offend, nor be offended. The Fire-Arms quickly cleared the Terraces; and

Diego de Ordaz, who only came to make Discoveries, thought it not proper to engage himself too far, and perceiving that the Enemy besieged him at a Distance, reduced now to fight with their Tongues, as the only Weapons they could use, loading him with loud Threats, and scurrilous Language, resolved to retreat, by opening a Passage with his Sword: So that having given Orders, and marching in the same Form in which he then was, he vigorously attacked those who were posted between him and the Quarters, as he, at the same Time, did those who were in the Rear, or who appeared upon the Tops of the Houses. He compassed his Retreat with Difficulty, and not without the Expence of some Blood; for he himself, together with the greatest Part of his Men, were wounded, and he left eight dead upon the Spot, whom they could not possibly bring off. It is likely they were *Tlascalans*, because Mention is only made of one *Spaniard*, who behaved himself remarkably well that Day, and died discharging his Duty. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* gives a particular Account of his Behaviour, and says, that his Name was *Lexcano*. The rest of the Authors do not mention him at all, so that his true Name is not positively known, which deserved to be transmitted to Posterity, who nevertheless, under that Name, honour the Memory of that valiant Soldier. *Cortes* became sensible, by what had happened, that it was no Time now to endeavour at, or even to think of making any Proposals for an Accommodation, which would lessen his own Reputation, and augment the Insolence of the Seditious. He determined therefore to make it desired by the Enemy, rather than propose it himself, and to make a Sally out into the City with the greatest Part of his Troops, in order to oblige them, by Dint of Hostilities,

stilities, to seek for Peace. There was at that Time none, by whose Means he could introduce the Treaty. As for *Motezuma*, he was diffident of his own Authority, being apprehensive of the Disobedience of his Vassals. Among the Rebels no one either commanded or obeyed, or rather they all commanded and none obeyed: A Mob, confused, ungovernable, without Distinction or Discipline, promiscuously composed of Nobles and Plebeians. *Cortes* desired, with all his Heart, to follow the Path of Moderation, and was not altogether without Hopes of bringing Matters to an Accommodation; but he thought it necessary to make it be fought by the Mutineers, before he undertook to persuade, in which he acted like a prudent and cautious Commander: For it is never safe to trust to disarmed Reason to appease the Fury of a seditious People; it being listened to with but little Attention, when it is not powerfully supported; and Faction is an inexorable Monster, with an Infinity of Heads, but not one Ear.

C H A P. XIII.

The Mexicans assault the Spanish Quarters, and are repulsed. Cortes makes two Sallies, and though the Enemy are both Times defeated, and put to Flight with great Slaughter, yet he doubts his being able to reduce them.

THE *Mexicans* pursued *Diego de Ordaz*, esteeming his Retreat no better than a Flight, following the Chace with a disorderly Fury, till the Artillery from the Quarters, with a terrible Slaughter, oblig'd

them to give back, as far as was necessary, to be out of the Reach of that Danger; but they halted in Sight, and by their Silence, and the Diligence with which they were putting themselves in Order, it was plainly perceived that they were forming some new Design.

THEIR Intent was vigorously to assault the Quarters on every Side; and all the Streets thereabouts were immediately filled with People; after which the Drums and Shells made the Signal for the Attack. They all advanced at once, with great Fury and Precipitation. Their Van-Guard was composed of Companies of Archers, that by clearing the Walls the rest might approach. Their Discharges were so inexpressibly thick, in order to make Room for those who were appointed for the Assault, that the Defendants found themselves in no small Confusion, being extremely put to it to defend themselves, and repulse their Enemies at the same Time. The Quarters were in a Manner drowned in Arrows; which Expression ought not to be taxed with being too hyperbolical, since the *Spaniards* were actually obliged to appoint People on Purpose to remove them, because they were a second Time offensive by barring the Way to the Ramparts. The Artillery and small Fire-Arms made a terrible Destruction of the Enemy; but they came so resolutely determined either to conquer or to die, that they advanced in Swarms to fill up the Vacancy of those who fell, and carried on the Attack with an intrepid Obstinacy, trampling upon the Dead and Wounded indifferently.

SEVERAL put themselves under the very Cannon, and assaulted with incredible Resolution, making Use of their flinted Instruments to break the Gates, and pick Holes in the Walls: Some got upon their Companions Shoulders, that they might have the
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Enemy within the Reach of their Weapons; others made Ladders of their own Lances and Pikes to gain the Windows and Terraces; and all in general exposed themselves to Fire and Sword like enraged Beasts. Notable Instances of a fearless Temerity, and which might have passed for gallant Actions, had true Valour performed that which, in reality, was no other than a savage Ferocity.

BUT they were at last repulsed, and retired, for Cover, to the cross Streets, where they continued till the Night's Approach dispersed them; rather because it was agreeable to the Custom they had, not to fight in the Sun's Absence, than that they gave over their Enterprize. On the contrary, they had the Boldness, soon after, once more to alarm the *Spaniards*, by setting Fire to their Quarters in different Parts, which they did, either by getting to the Doors and Windows, in the Dark, or by shooting Arrows from a Distance with artificial Fire, which last, indeed, seems most probable, for the Flame increased so suddenly, and took hold on the Buildings with such an impetuous Rage, that they were obliged, in order to prevent the Communication of the several Fires, to break down some Walls, and to toil afterwards in stopping up those Breaches they had made, and to put them in a Posture of Defence; a Fatigue which lasted the greatest Part of the Night.

BUT scarce did the first Light of the Morning appear, when the Enemy was discovered, seemingly afraid to come within Reach of the Shot; for they only provoked the *Spaniards* to sally forth from their Walls. They dared them to Battle with injurious Speeches, treating them as Cowards for lurking behind their Intrenchments; and *Cortes*, who had before resolved to make a Sally upon them that Day, took this Provocation for a good Opportunity

to fire the Minds of his People. He prepar'd them with a short Discourse to revenge their Wrong, by chastising the Insolence of those *Barbarians*, and, without Delay, he form'd his whole Force into Three Bodies, each consisting of *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*: Two of these Battalions he ordered for clearing the Cross-Streets, and the Third, at the Head of which he himself march'd in Person with the choicest of his Troops, took the Street of *Tacuba*, where the greatest Body of the Enemy was posted. He drew up his Men, and distributed Arms as Necessity requir'd; for he was to engage both in Front and Flank, following the Method which *Diego de Ordaz* had observ'd in his Retreat, esteeming that, which a little before had deserv'd his Applause, to be now worthy his Imitation; wherein he shewed the Nobleness of his Mind, and that he was not ignorant how much those Superiors hazard, who disdain to follow the Footsteps of those who are inferior to them in Command, and how near they are to erring, who pretend to distinguish themselves from those who have been successful by their prudent Conduct.

THE Three Battalions engag'd at one Time, and the Enemy both gave and receiv'd the first Charges without losing Ground, or being in the least sensible of Danger, venturing so far as even to come to Handy-Blows. Their Clubs and Two-handed Swords were manag'd with a desperate Fury. Regardless of Death, they broke in among the Pikes and Swords of the *Spaniards*, to gain a Stroke at the Price of Life. The Fire-Arms which were levell'd against the Galleries and Windows could not divert the Shower of Stones which incessantly came from thence, for they flung them without discovering themselves; and it was necessary to set
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some Houses on Fire, to put a Stop to that troublesome Hostility.

THE *Mexicans*, at last, gave Way to the superior Valour of the *Spaniards*; but as they retreated, they broke down the Bridges of the Streets, and shew'd themselves on the other Side; obliging the *Spaniards* to fill up the Ditches, still fighting all the while, before they could prosecute the Victory. Those who were detach'd to clear the Streets on the Sides, charg'd the Multitude that possess'd them with so much Resolution, that they secur'd the Retreat, and always kept the Enemy in Front, till having advanc'd as far as the Opening into a large Square, the Three Bodies join'd, and at the first Attack so dishearten'd the *Indians*, that they turn'd their Backs with great Precipitation and Confusion, treading one another under Foot, and shewing the same Impetuosity in their Flight, as they had done in the Battel.

CORTES would not suffer his People to prosecute the Victory with a farther Slaughter of those Vassals of *Moteczuma*, already routed, and flying in the utmost Disorder; whether it was that his Heart relented at the Blood already spilt, and disdain'd intirely to destroy a vanquish'd Enemy, or that he thought he had chastiz'd their Presumption with sufficient Rigour. He therefore gathered up his Troops, and retired without meeting with the least Opposition. He lost Ten or Twelve Soldiers, and had many wounded, chiefly by Stones or Arrows, but none dangerously. The Number that the *Mexicans* lost was so great that the Bodies which they could not carry off, having first ting'd the Canals with their Blood, remained as a Spectacle of Horror in the Streets in incredible Heaps. The Engagement lasted all the Morning, the *Spaniards* were sometimes very hard put to it, and
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their Success was intirely owing to their Experience, Valour, and good Discipline. There was no one who could in particular be said to excel; because all in general acted with equal Bravery, as well Soldiers as Officers, and their Exploits reciprocally effac'd each other. The *Tlascalans* behav'd themselves, by the generous Example set them by the *Spaniards*, valiantly, without Precipitation or Rashness; and *Cortes* conducted the whole Action like a courageous and prudent Commander, being present every-where, but more especially where the Danger was greatest, his Sword always in the Face of his Enemy, his Eye on his own People, his Care wherever Occasion requir'd; leaving it in Doubt whether more was owing to his personal Bravery, or to his consummate Military Skill, both which Virtues he possess'd in an eminent Degree, and are Qualities desirable without Distinction, and concur without Preference in great Commanders.

It was necessary to allow some Time for refreshing his tir'd Troops, and for the Cure of the Wounded; which Suspension lasted Three Days, or something more; during which Interval they only took Care of the Defence of the Quarters, having the Army of the Mutineers constantly in View, with whom they had some light Skirmishes, a Mixture of flying and fighting. In this Time *Hernan Cortes* artfully renewed his Overtures of Peace by Means of some *Mexicans*, in the Service of *Motezuma*, who went with several Proposals; but he was not negligent, during the Negotiation, but made all necessary Preparation for War. He ordered Four Towers of Wood to be built, which mov'd upon Weels with little Difficulty, and were to be us'd against the Enemy, in case there should be Occasion for a new Sally. Each of those Towers was capable of containing Twenty or
Thirty

Thirty Men, the Roof defended by thick Planks, sufficient to resist the Stones which might be cast from the Houses, the Front and Sides with Loop-Holes to discharge under Cover, in Imitation of the great Engines us'd in War, which cover Men to undermine the Walls of a Town. This Defence he thought, at that Juncture, very proper to shelter his Soldiers, in the firing of Houses, and breaking thro' the Trenches with which they were stopping up the Streets; and, if these rolling Machines were not good for engaging, yet, the Novelty of them would be useful by amazing the Enemy.

Of the *Mexicans* who were sent out with Proposals of Peace, some return'd ill-treated, and others remain'd among the Rebels, to the great Dissatisfaction of *Moteczuma*, who earnestly desired the Reduction of his seditious Subjects, and conceal'd, under a Mask easy to be seen through, the Jealousy he had, lest they should intirely shake off their Obedience, and lose all Fear of his Authority. At this Time they were making new Preparations for War in the City. Those of the mutinous Nobility who had Vassals of their own, summon'd the People of their respective Districts: The Force of the Army continually increas'd; nor did they cease to provoke the *Spaniards* in their Quarters, who were now quite tir'd with bearing the troublesome Repetition of Menaces and Arrows, which tho' they were equally lost in the Air, did not fail to offend and weary out their Patience.

With this good Disposition of his People, the Opinion of his Captains, and the Approbation of *Moteczuma*, *Cortes* made a second Sally against the *Mexicans*: He took with him the greatest Part of the *Spaniards*, and about Two Thousand *Tlascalans*, some Pieces of Artillery, the Wooden Machines, and some Led-Horses to be us'd upon all Occasions where the Breakings of the Ground did not render

render them useleſs. The ſeditious *Mexicans* were then in a profound Silence; but the *Spaniards* had ſcarce begun their March, when the Difficulty of the Undertaking was quickly known by the ſudden Shouts of an innumerable Multitude, alternate with the hoarſe and diſmal Sound of their Drums and Sea-Shells. The Rebels did not wait till they were attack'd, but on the contrary they came up to the *Spaniards* with ſurprizing Reſolution, and much leſs Confuſion than they were wont. They gave and receiv'd the firſt Charges, without Diſorder or Precipitation; but it was not long before they were ſenſible of the Damage they ſuſtain'd, and retired by little and little, without turning their Backs, to the firſt Entrenchments they had made in the Streets; in Defence of which they renew'd the Fight with ſo much Obſtinacy, that it was neceſſary to advance ſome Pieces of Artillery to diſlodge them. They had their Retreats very near, and in ſome the Bridges of the Canals were taken up, which increas'd the Difficulty, and there was no Way of engaging them from under Cover. This Day the *Spaniards* obſerved in the Conduct of their Enemies ſome very politick and conſiderate Actions, and ſuch as made the War appear more than a Popular Tumult. They all diſcharged at the ſame Time, lowering their Arm, that they might not loſe their Shot by the Reſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* Armour. They defended their Poſts with Obſtinacy, and abandon'd them without Confuſion: They ſent ſeveral Men into the Canals, that as they ſwam up and down, they might push at the *Spaniards*, and wound them with their Pikes: They had got up huge Pieces of Rocks into their Galleries, to deſtroy the Wooden Towers, and perform'd it, breaking them all to Shatters: By theſe and many other Signs, it was eaſily perceiv'd

that

that some One commanded them; for they animated and supported each other seasonably, and in the very Disorders of a Seditious Multitude, they shew'd some Sort of Obedience and Discipline.

THE Engagement lasted the greatest Part of the Day; the *Spaniards* and their Confederates were forc'd to gain the Ground from Trench to Trench: Much Damage was done to the City, many Houses burn'd, and the *Mexicans* lost more Blood upon this Occasion than they had done in the Two preceding Actions, either that they advanc'd nearer to the Fire-Arms, or because they could not fly as they were accustomed, being hinder'd by their own Entrenchments.

THE Night drew on apace; and *Cortes*, with Concern, finding himself engag'd in the fruitless Dispute of gaining Posts which he could not maintain, retired to his Quarters, leaving the Sedition, in Reality, rather chastis'd than quell'd. He lost about Forty Soldiers, most of them *Tlascalans*, had above Fifty *Spaniards* sorely wounded, and himself shot with an Arrow in the Left Hand; but his inward Wound was far the worst, by being sensible, upon this Occasion, that it was not possible to continue so unequal a War without running the Risque of losing both his Army and his Reputation: The first Shock his Courage had felt, and which greatly distress'd his Constancy. He shut himself up under Pretence of his Wound, but with a Design to give himself up to Thought. The greatest Part of the Night he spent in Reflection: He was concern'd and vex'd to quit *Mexico*, and could find no Means of maintaining his Ground there. He endeavour'd to exert himself against the Difficulty, but found that Reason took Part with his Suspicions. His good Sense and Foresight would not agree with his natural Fire and Vigour, and all

was

was disputing without resolving: Dissatisfy'd with the Dictates of Prudence, and impatient at the Pain which the Mind suffers in being undeceiv'd, before it can profit by it.

C H A P. XIV.

Moteczuma exhorts Cortes to retire from Mexico, which he offers to do as soon as the Seditious have laid down their Arms. They return to attempt another Assault. Moteczuma speaks to them from the Wall, and is wounded, losing all Hopes of reducing them.

NOR did *Moteczuma* pass the Night in less Disquiet. He doubted the Fidelity of his Vassals, and his Mind was assaulted by contrary Passions; of which some sooth'd, and others oppos'd his Inclinations: Anger carried him to Violence; Fear to Moderation; and his Pride gave him a Repugnance to any Condescension. He was that Day on the highest Tower of the Palace, observing the Battle, and distinguish'd among the Rebels the Lord of *Iztapalapa*, and other Princes, who might aspire to the Empire. He saw them running here and there, animating the Combatants, and ordering the Action. He had not, as yet, suspected his Nobles would have engaged in such manifest Outrages: His Anger and Concern increas'd at once, and his Anger prevail'd; the first Motion of his Temper giving them up to Destruction, breathing nothing but Blood and Slaughter: But a little after reflecting how far the Evil was spread, and the Tumult now converted into Treason and Rebellion in
all

all its Forms, he sunk down quite dispirited, remaining without Resolution to apply a Remedy, and every Impulse of his natural Ferocity gave Way to Fear and Weakness. Nothing appears so terrible to a Tyrant as the Thoughts of his Crown being in Danger; nor are any, generally speaking, so susceptible of Fear as those who are ambitious of being fear'd.

He reflected with Deliberation upon various Means of re-establishing his sinking Authority, and none appeared better than immediately to send away the *Spaniards*, to return to his Palace, and there to use Lenity towards the Revolters, before he proceeded to lift up the Hand of Justice. In the Morning he sent for *Cortes*, and with a good deal of Address, communicated to him the Cause of his Concern. With an affected Security he aggravated and exclaim'd against the Insolence of his Nobles, endeavouring to make him believe, that his Thoughts were more taken up about the Manner of chastising them, than with any Fear he had from their Revolt; and went on saying, "That
" now the Troubles of his Kingdom requir'd
" a speedy Remedy; and that it was necessary
" to take away all Pretences from the Seditious,
" and to make them sensible of their Error, before he punished their Crime: That all Tumults
" were founded upon some Appearances of Reason;
" and that in the reducing of a Multitude,
" it was prudent to make Concessions at the Beginning,
" in order to command more absolutely afterward: That the Clamours of his Vassals
" had, on their Side, the Excuse of sounding well,
" since all they demanded was the Liberty of
" their Prince, being persuaded that he did not
" enjoy it, and mistaken in the Method of obtaining it:
" That Things were now come to that pass,
" that

“ that *Cortes* and his People must unavoidably
 “ leave *Mexico* without Delay, that he himself
 “ might, by his own Authority, subject the Rebels,
 “ and extinguish the Fire, by removing the
 “ Cause.” He repeated how much he had suffered for not violating his Word with the *Spaniards*, and touch’d lightly upon those Jealousies which gave him most Concern: But the Instances he made to *Cortes* not to oppose his Demands, were so submissive, that the Influences of Fear plainly discovered themselves in the Earnestness of the Request.

CORTES himself was of opinion, that it was convenient for him, in the present Juncture of Affairs, to retreat, but not without Hopes of resuming the Enterprize upon a better Foundation: And recollecting his Thoughts on that Point, which made the Proposal seem the less strange, he readily answer’d: “ That it was both his Inclination and Opinion to obey him with an intire Resignation; desiring only to do that which should be most pleasing and agreeable to him, without entering into the Motives of his Resolution, or losing Time in representing the Inconveniencies that might attend it, which without doubt he foresaw, and had consider’d; for in Discussions of this Kind, the Inferior ought always to submit his Judgment, the Will of Princes being a sufficient Reason. That nevertheless he should be much troubled to go from him, without leaving him fully assured of the Obedience of his Vassals; particularly, since that dangerous Circumstance of the Nobility’s having declared for the Populace, required greater Precautions, and his utmost Care: For when once the Nobility break the Bonds of Duty and Loyalty, they have the greatest Attempts in View, and stick at nothing. But that it was not for him to offer

“ Reasons

“ Reasons to delay his March, since his Majesty
“ had propos’d it as a necessary Remedy, as being
“ sensible of the Infirmary and Humours under
“ which his Kingdom labour’d : Upon which Sup-
“ position, and his own fix’d Resolution immedi-
“ ately to march with his Army for *Zempoala*,
“ he humbly intreated his Majesty, that before his
“ Departure he would oblige his Vassals to lay
“ down their Arms ; because it would be of bad
“ Consequence, that they should attribute to their
“ Rebellion what they ow’d to their Sovereign’s
“ Goodness : That he propos’d this more out of
“ Respect to his Royal Authority, than for any
“ Trouble or Concern the Obstinacy of the Rebels
“ gave him ; for he desisted from farther chastizing
“ them out of pure Regard to him, carrying on
“ the Point of his Sword, and in the Valour of his
“ Troops, every Thing that was necessary to se-
“ cure his Retreat.”

MOTEZUMA did not expect such a ready Com-
pliance in the Answer of *Cortes*, but imagined he
should have met with greater Resistance, which
might have occasion’d him much Trouble in con-
tending and disputing that Point upon which he
had so fully deliberated and resolv’d. He made his
Acknowledgment to *Cortes* with a great deal of
Joy, and both his Voice and Countenance suffi-
ciently express’d the Satisfaction of his Mind. He
offer’d to command the Revolters immediately to
lay down their Arms, approving of that Advice,
and thinking it necessary to the end that his Vassals
might come less unworthy to capitulate with their
Prince ; a Point which he had not consider’d be-
fore : Yet still he was inwardly concern’d at his
being forc’d to temporize so far with those who
merited nothing but his Displeasure, nor was he
very skilful in the Art of joining Sovereignty with
Diffimulation.

Diffimulation. Before this Conference ended, an Alarm was sounded in the Quarters. *Cortes* immediately hastened to their Defence, and found his People all preparing to resist a general Assault the Enemy was just going to begin on every Side. As the Garrison was always vigilant, they were received with the utmost Rigour of the Fire-Arms; but nothing was able to stop them, for those Rebels shut their Eyes to all Danger, and drove each other on with so much Precipitation, that their Vanguard, in Appearance, without their own proper Movement, were in an Instant at the Foot of the Wall. Their Bows and Slings, which were left at a convenient Distance, began to repeat their Discharges, to beat off those who were upon the Ramparts to resist the Assault, which was pushed on and opposed with equal Resolution. In some Parts the Enemy got Footing within the very Works, and *Cortes*, who had formed a Body of Reserve, composed of *Tlascalans* and *Spaniards*, in the principal Court, repaired with new Succours to the Posts which were most exposed, having Occasion for all his Activity, and all the Courage of his Troops, that the Defence might not slacken, nor the Enemy come to understand the Advantage which Numbers have over even Valour itself.

MOTEZUMA, being soon informed of the Conflict in which the *Spaniards* were engaged, called *Donna Marina*, and sent her to *Cortes* to propose, “ That according to the present State of Affairs, “ and conformable to what they had both agreed “ upon, it would be very convenient that he should “ shew himself to his Vassals from the Wall, to “ command the seditious Populace to retire, and “ the Nobles to make their personal Appearance “ in his Presence, disarmed, and there to represent “ what it was that both the one and the other desired.”

“fired.” *Cortes* did not dislike the Proposal, but thought this Expedient necessary, that his People might breathe a little, though it should not be sufficient to overcome the Obstinacy of that inflexible Multitude. *Moteczuma* instantly disposed himself to put his Design in Execution, with an impatient Concern to know the Minds of his Subjects, with regard to his own Person. He caused himself to be adorned with his Royal Robes, called for his Crown and Imperial Mantle, not forgetting the Jewels which he was accustomed to wear upon publick Occasions, nor other affected Formalities, which sufficiently published his Diffidence; making it appear by all this Care, that he stood in Need of exterior Shew to gain Respect, and that the Assistance of Purple and Gold was necessary to cover and conceal the interior Weakness of Majesty. With all this Pomp and Grandeur, attended by the principal *Mexicans* who continued in his Service, he mounted the Terrace which was opposite to the great Avenue. The Garrison was drawn up in Ranks for him to pass through, and one of the *Mexicans* of the Emperor’s Equipage advancing to the Rails, with a loud Voice called out to the Rebels, to prepare themselves with Reverence and Attention, for the Great *Moteczuma* had condescended to come forth in order to hear their Demands, and shew them further Favour. At the hearing of his Name the Outcries ceased, Terror succeeded, and got the better of Fury, and they remained motionless, seeming as if they were afraid even to breathe. *Moteczuma* then shewed himself to the expecting Multitude, with a Countenance of Severity mixed with Lenity, which at once expressed both his Anger and his Fear. Many bent the Knee when they saw him, but the most Part humbled themselves so far as to touch the Earth with their Foreheads, having Reason

son to fear him, as well as a Custom of worshipping him. He first cast his Looks on all in general, and then upon the Nobles in particular, with a Shew of taking Notice of those he knew. He commanded that some should draw near, calling them by their Names. He honoured them with the Title of Friends and Kinsmen, putting a Force on his Indignation: He acknowledged, with a proper Decency of Expression, the Affection with which they desired his Liberty; and the Harangue he made them, though we find it differently related, was, according to the Report of the Majority, to the following Tenor:

I Am so far, my Vassals, from looking upon this Expression of your Zeal as a Crime, that I cannot deny my being inclined to excuse you. It was, indeed, an Excess to take up Arms without my Leave; but it was an Excess of your Fidelity. You believed, and not without Appearance of Reason, that I was detained by Force and Violence in this Palace of my Predecessors; and to relieve your Sovereign from Oppression, is too great an Enterprize to be attempted without some Disorder, since no Laws are sufficient to restrain an Excess of Resentment and Grief within the Bounds of Moderation and Prudence: And notwithstanding the Occasion of this your Commotion be with small Foundation, (because I am without any Manner of Violence among these Foreigners whom you treat as Enemies) I now see your Inclinations are good, though you are mistaken in your Method of proceeding. It is by my own voluntary Option that I have continued with them, and thought myself obliged to shew them this Favour, on account of the Respect they have always paid me, and out of Duty to the Prince who sends them. They are now dispatched: I have now resolved, that they shall depart my Court; and they are preparing immediately

diately to quit the Country: But it is not reasonable, that I should be sooner obeyed by them than by you, who are my natural Subjects; not that their Courtesy should appear greater than your Duty. Lay down your Arms, and come to my Presence as you ought, that all Tumults and Disturbance ceasing, you may be convinced how much you are in my Favour, by the Pardon I am ready to give you.

THUS *Motexuma* concluded his Harangue; and no one was so bold as to attempt making a Reply. Some beheld him with Astonishment and Confusion, to find a Request where they expected nothing but Indignation; others wept to see their Monarch so humble, or, which sounds much worse, so humbled: But at the very Time of this Suspension, the Populace began again to be in Commotion, and in an Instant passed from Fear to Fury; easy at all Times to be led into Extremes: Nor did there want one to foment it, when they had elected a new Emperor, or at least had resolved on the Choice; for in our Historians we find it differently related.

THEIR Disrespect immediately was converted into Contempt. They told him aloud, that he was no longer their King, and that he should quit the Diadem and Sceptre for the Distaff and Spindle; giving him the opprobrious Names of pusillanimous, effeminate Coward, an abject Prisoner, and Slave to his Enemies: Their injurious Language was drown'd by loud and repeated Shouts; and he endeavoured, by the Motions both of his Head and his Hands, to be heard, when the Multitude began to advance, and let fly their Arrows against him, whereby he became sensible of the utmost Insolence of his rebellious Vassals. Two Soldiers, which *Cortes*, foreseeing this Danger, had placed at his Side, endeavoured to cover him with their Bucklers; but

all their Care was not sufficient to prevent his being touch'd by some Arrows, and very rigorously by a Stone which wounded him in the Head, breaking Part of his Temple, with which Blow he fell down senseless to the Ground; an Accident which exceedingly troubled *Cortes*, as being one of the most unreasonable Misfortunes that could have possibly happened. He instantly caused him to be carried to his Apartment, and with fresh Resentment and Indignation, repaired to the Defence of the Ramparts: But he found no Enemy on whom he could vent his Anger; for the *Mexicans* no sooner beheld their Emperor fall, by which they had Reason to believe that he was wounded, but they were so astonished at the Crime they had committed, that flying, without knowing from whom, as imagining that the Vengeance of their Gods pursued them, they ran to hide themselves from divine Wrath, with that kind of Confusion, or Consternation, wherewith the Mind is wont to be oppressed after the committing of enormous and heinous Crimes.

CORTES immediately repaired to *Moteczuma's* Apartment, who soon after recovered his Senses, and came to himself; but so impatient, and full of Indignation, that it was necessary to hold him, in order to prevent him from doing himself a Mischief. It was impossible to dress his Wound, because he tore away whatever Medicines were applied, and he broke out into most furious Threats, which ended in Sighs and Lamentations: Rage did its utmost, but at last dwindled into Pusillanimity: Persuasion offended, and Consolation exasperated and angered him: He recovered his Senses only to lose his Understanding. It appeared necessary to leave him for a while, and allow some Time for Consideration, that he might get rid of the first Impressions of the Insult had been offered him. Overwhelmed

whelmed with excessive Grief, he was left to the Care of his Attendants, continually battling with the Violence of his Temper, and the Despondency of his Mind, without Spirit enough left even to think of attempting Vengeance upon the Traitors, but esteeming, as a most heroick Exploit, the Resolution of dying by his own Hands. A barbarous Recourse of cowardly Minds, who sink beneath Calamity, and are only valiant against that which can least oppose them.

C H A P. XV.

Motezuma dies of his Wounds, obstinately refusing to receive Baptism. Cortes sends his Body to the Mexicans, who celebrate his Obsequies. His personal Qualities and Character.

MOTEZUMA persevered in his Impatience, and at the same Time his Wounds grew worse; it being a common Observation, how great Influence the Passions of the Mind have over the Corruption of the Humours. The Wound in his Head was at first looked upon as dangerous, and his inward Agitations quickly made it mortal; nor was it by any Means possible to apply the necessary Remedies, till he grew so weak that he had not Force to resist. Those who attended him were no less put to it to oblige him to take some Nourishment, the want of which had already brought him very low; and he seemed to have nothing of Strength or Vigour left, but only in his determinate Resolution of putting an End to his Life with

his own Hands; his Despair increasing as his Strength decayed. His Danger was known in Time, and *Cortes*, who seldom left him, because, when he was present, he moderated his Grief, and somewhat composed himself, used his utmost Endeavours, by pressing Instances, to persuade him to that which most of all imported him. He took all proper Opportunities to touch upon Religion, calling upon him with gentle and pathetick Arguments to a Detestation of his Errors, and to seek the Knowledge of Truth. Upon some Occasions he had shewn some sort of Inclination to the Rites and Precepts of the Catholick Faith, seemed to be dissatisfied with the Absurdities of Idolatry, and began to give some Hopes of his Conversion; but always put it off for some diabolical Reason of State, having a Regard to the Superstition of others, though his own had left him, and fearing his Subjects more than he revered his Gods.

CORTES, on his Part, did all that the Duty of a *Christian* required. He intreated him, with all possible Fervour and Tenderness, to acknowledge the true God; and, by receiving Baptism, to secure to himself a glorious Eternity in the next World. He was pressed by Father *Bartolome de Olmedo* with Arguments of still greater Force and Energy; nor were the Officers, who were most in that Prince's Favour, less sedulous in their Endeavours to work upon him. *Donna Marina* did not only interpret, but joined Intreaties in the most persuasive Terms; and in Spite of all that Malice and Emulation can say, (for even in this respect the *Spaniards* are charged with Neglect) no human Means was omitted to induce him to turn into the Path of Truth: But he would never return a rational Answer, but always remote from the Point; now exclaiming against the Insult he had received,
anon

anon breathing nothing but Threats of Vengeance, then he would fall into Fits of Despair, conjuring *Cortes* to revenge his Injuries upon the Traitors. In this miserable Conflict of Mind he continued three Days, and then surrendered up to the Devil the eternal Possession of his Soul, employing the latest Moments of his Breath in impious Thoughts of sacrificing his Enemies to his Fury and Revenge, leaving to the World a terrible Example, how much the Passions are to be dreaded in the Hour of Death, being always Enemies to Resignation, and most predominant in the Great and Powerful, by Reason that as the Custom of obeying those Passions prevails, the Vigour diminishes which is requisite to repress and subdue them.

THE Concern which the Death of this Prince caused amongst the *Spaniards* was universal; for they all in general loved him with an equal Affection, some upon Account of his Liberality towards them, and others for his benevolent Disposition. But *Cortes*, who was far more obliged to him than all the rest, and whose Loss was incomparably greater, took this cruel Stroke so to Heart, that he was quite inconsolable; and notwithstanding he endeavoured all he could to compose himself, that his People might not be discouraged, he was not able to conceal his inward Grief, but was frequently observed to let fall some Tears which it was not in his Power to refrain. He had founded the greatest Part of his Designs in the voluntary Subjection of that Prince. By his Death the best of his Hopes were intirely lost, and he found himself under the Necessity of forming a new Plan, in order to attain the Views he had proposed. What most sensibly touched him was, his having died obstinate in his Errors; the last and greatest Aggravation of this

Misfortune, and an essential Point which divided his Heart between Sorrow and Dread.

His first Care was to call together all the Servants of the deceased Emperor, of whom he chose six Persons of the greatest Note to carry out the Body into the City, in which Number were comprehended some Priests, who had been taken Prisoners, all of them Eye-Witnesses of his Wound and Death. He ordered them, from him, to acquaint the Princes who were at the Head of the mutinous Populace, " That he had sent them the
" Corpse of their late Sovereign, murdered by their
" Hands, which enormous Crime gave fresh Right
" to the Justice of his Arms. That before his
" Death he had frequently requested, and with
" most pressing Instances conjured him to revenge
" his Wrongs, and to chastize them for their abominable Rebellion. But that looking on their
" Insurrection to have proceeded from the brutal
" Fury of the Populace, and as an Insolence, the
" Enormity whereof he hoped those of better
" Sense and Rank would take into Consideration
" and punish, he once more proposed Peace, giving them Leave to send their Deputies to make
" Proposals towards an amicable Accommodation, assuring them, That he was ready to agree to
" any reasonable Conditions; but that at the same
" Time he would have them to understand, that
" if they did not immediately accept his Offer, and
" repent them of their Crime, they should not
" only be treated as Enemies, but as Rebels and
" Traitors to their Prince, experiencing the utmost
" Rigour of his Arms: For that *Moteczuma* (out of
" Respect to whom he had with-held and moderated his just Resentment) being now dead, he
" would lay waste, and intirely destroy their City;
" and that they should, when too late, know by
" dear

“ dear Experience the Difference between Hostilities, when little more than barely defensive (and by which he had hitherto only endeavoured to reduce them to Reason) and a declared War, in which he lay under an Obligation to chastize them with the last Severity.”

THE six *Mexicans* immediately departed with this Message, bearing the Corpse upon their Shoulders; and at a small Distance from the Quarters, a Body of the Seditious advanced to meet them, not without some Signs of Reverence and Respect, as was observed from the Walls. They all follow'd the Corpse, throwing down their Arms, and abandoning their Posts; and in an Instant the City was filled with Outcries and Lamentations; a sufficient Demonstration that that melancholy Object, which gave them a View of their treasonable Practices, had some sort of Impression upon their obdurate Hearts. They had already elected a new Emperor, as was soon after known; so that those Expressions of Grief could not proceed from a sincere Repentance; nor could those Remains of Loyalty sound ill in the Ears of the Successor, who must needs look on them as paid to the Name, and not to the Person of the Sovereign. The Outcries and Clamours of the People, who thronged up and down in Swarms, lasted the whole Night, repeating through every Street, the Name of *Moteczuma*, with a kind of tumultuous Sorrow, which though it expressed a Sort of relenting Reflection, yet still carried the Face of Sedition.

SOME say, that they dragged the Body about the Streets, and cut and mangled it all to Pieces, without sparing his Children and Wives: Others, that they exposed it to the Derision and Contempt of the common People, till one of his Servants, erecting an humble and irregular Pile of Wood, in a Place

Place little frequented, and less decent, he there reduced it to Ashes. What has been said may be believed of an enraged Populace, in whose Inhumanity what seems farthest from Decency and Reason carries the greatest Face of Probability. But the Truth of the Matter is, that the Rebels received the Corpse with Reverence, affecting, both in the adorning it, and in the Funeral Pomp, to appear concerned at his Death, as a Misfortune, in which their Intention had no Share; or, perhaps, by that exterior Shew of Respect, they thought either to appease or to deceive their false Deities. They conveyed him, the next Morning, with great Solemnity and Attendance, to the Mountain of *Chapulteque*, where they were accustomed to perform the Exequies, and to preserve the Ashes of their Kings; and upon this Occasion, the Outcries and Lamentations of the Multitude resounded with greater Force than was customary, as they themselves afterwards confirmed, looking upon those Honours they had shewn to the Ashes of their deceased Monarch as an Act of Atonement, and a substantial Expiation of the Crime they had committed.

THERE have not wanted some Pens who have done all they could to charge *Cortes* with this Prince's Death; affirming, That he ordered him to be killed to free himself from the Trouble he gave him: Nay, one of our Writers says, That it was so reported, and neither defends or denies it; an unpardonable Neglect, which without being a convincing Proof of his evil Design, is nevertheless very like Calumny. Perhaps the *Mexicans* might, some Years afterwards, affirm it, to make the *Spaniards* hated by other People, or to remove the Infamy from their own Nation: But at that Time it is certain that they neither said it, nor so much as imagined

imagined any such Thing; nor ought any Writers to give themselves the Liberty of publishing such ill-grounded Incoherencies: For how was it possible, that so considerate and vigilant a Person as *Hernan Cortes*, when he had upon his Back the whole Power of the *Mexican* Empire, should once think of parting with a Pledge in which consisted his greatest Security? Of what Advantage could the Death of a Prince, who was a Friend, and subjected, be towards the Conquest of a Kingdom, whose Inhabitants were all up in Arms, and declared Enemies? It is a Misfortune which generally attends all great Actions, to have them variously reported; and it is an easy Undertaking for the Envious to invent chimerical Circumstances, which, notwithstanding they are not sufficient intirely to obscure the Truth, leave it nevertheless exposed to Opinion and Ignorance; and we find many Things in Histories which have no better Foundation than the Credulity of the Vulgar. Foreigners have given themselves abundance of Trouble in endeavouring to discredit the Conduct of *Cortes* in this Expedition: But the many Proofs he has given of his good Sense, clear him from so great an Absurdity; though the Nobleness of his Temper, and well-known Generosity, should not be allowed sufficient to have kept him from so cruel an Action. Let therefore Envy remain covered with Confusion; an odious Vice without Pleasure, a racking Torment while dissembled, and a Disgrace when known; the Glory of the Envied, and the Infamy of the Envious.

MOTEZUMA, as we have elsewhere observed, was a Prince of rare Talents, and excellent natural Endowments; of a graceful and majestick Presence; of a quick Apprehension, and clear Understanding; and, in a Word, wanted nothing but Improvement, and acquired Parts. His Valour advanced him to the

the highest Dignities in the Empire, and gave him the first Rank among his own People, before he obtained the Crown, and afterwards among Strangers gained him the Reputation of being the most deserving Prince of his Time. His Genius and Inclination were martial: He understood the Arts of War; and whenever there was Occasion to take up Arms, the Camp was his Court. He gained in Person nine Field Battles. He conquered several Provinces, and greatly extended the Limits of his Empire; quitting the Splendors of the Throne for the Applauses of the Field, and esteeming the General's Staff as the securest Sceptre. He was naturally munificent and liberal, and bestowed many great Favours without any Manner of Ostentation; looking on Gifts as Debts, and placing Magnificence among the first Duties of a Monarch. He was a Lover of Justice, and watched the Administration of it in his Ministers with a rigid Severity. He was temperate in his Diet, and moderate in his Use of Incentives to Sensuality. But these Virtues, as well of a Man, as of a King, were obscured, or over-balanced by greater Vices, both of the Man and of the King: His Continence was but a more refined Sensuality; for in his Time the Tribute of Concubines was introduced, Beauty throughout his whole Realm being a Slave to his Moderation in Pleasure, and his vicious Fancy had not the Excuse of Appetite. Then his Justice degenerated to the contrary Extreme, and was often confounded with Cruelty; for he used Chastisement like Revenge, doing that with Rage, which might have been justifiable, had it been done with Reason. His Liberality occasioned greater Damage than it did Good; for he loaded his Kingdoms with Impositions, and intolerable Tributes; and the abominable Fruit of his Tyranny and Oppression was consumed by his
Profu-

Profusions and Extravagance. He allowed no *Modum*, nor admitted of any Distinction betwixt Slavery and Vassalage; and placing his Policy in oppressing his Subjects, he was more pleased at the abject Slavery and Dread in which he held them, than at their patient Resignation to his Will. Pride was his capital and predominant Vice. Whenever Fortune favoured him, he attributed all to his own Merit, having a better Opinion of himself than he had of his Gods, though extremely given to the Superstitions of his Idolatry. He was honoured, according to them, with frequent Visits from the Devil, who among those wretched Heathens appears in Visions, and converses with such of them who are arrived to a certain Degree in the Path of Perdition. He voluntarily subjected himself to *Cortes*, condescending to a Confinement of so long a Continuance, directly contrary to all the Rules of his natural Haughtiness and Pride. It might reasonably have been doubted at that Time, what was the real Cause of such a Subjection: But the very Effects of it have since discovered, that God took the Reins into his own Hand on Purpose to tame that Monster; making his unusual Gentleness instrumental to the first Introduction of the *Spaniards*, a Beginning, from whence afterwards resulted the Conversion of those Heathen Nations. He left several Children; two of his Sons, who accompanied him in his Confinement, were killed by the *Mexicans*, when *Cortes* made his Retreat; he had two others, with three Daughters, which Ladies were afterwards converted, and married with *Spaniards*. But the most illustrious of all his Children was *Don Pedro de Motezuma*, who was also soon after converted to the Catholick Religion, and had that Name given him at his Baptism. He was next Heir to his Father, his Mother being Princess of the Province
of

of *Tula*, and one of the Queens who resided in the Imperial Palace with Royal Dignity; which Princess likewise followed her Son's Example, and was baptized by the Name of *Donna Maria de Niagua Suchil*, keeping up in those Surnames the Nobility of her Ancestors. His Majesty bestowed many Favours upon *Don Pedro*, giving him an Estate, and considerable Rents in *New Spain*, with the Title of Count *de Motezuma*, whose legitimate Succession is still preserved in the Counts of that Title, with the heroick Remembrance of their Original.

MOTEZUMA reigned seventeen Years. He was the eleventh in the Number of the Emperors, and the second of the Name. To conclude, he perished in his Blindness amidst so many Succours, as seemed sufficient to save him. O ever inscrutable Permissions of eternal Justice! proper to affect the Heart, but not to be comprehended by the Understanding!

C H A P. XVI.

The Mexicans return to besiege the Spanish Quarters. Cortes makes a Sally. Gains a Temple, where the Enemy was lodged. Defeats and puts them to Flight. Does considerable Damage to the City, with a Design to terrify them in order to make his Retreat.

DURING the three Days that *Motezuma* lay ill of his Wounds, the *Indians* attempted nothing of any great Consequence; notwithstanding they had constantly some Bodies of Men in Sight,
and

and made some slight Attacks, which were easily repulsed. It might have been thought, that this Intermiſſion proceeded from the Senſe they had of their Crime, or from the Dread of their Sovereign's Indignation, whom they had offended in ſo outrageous a Manner; had it not been afterwards known that this faint Proſecution of the War was only becauſe the Populace were all in Confuſion and Diſorder, without Leaders, the Nobility being all buſied at the Inauguration of a new Emperor, who, as was ſoon after known, was *Quilavaca*, King of *Ixtapalapa*, and ſecond Eleſtor of the Empire. This Prince lived but a few Days; and upon Account of his Indolence, and want of Application, the very Memory of his Name is almoſt forgot among the *Indians* of that Country.

THE *Mexicans* who went out with *Motezuma's* Body, and were intruſted with the Propoſals for an Accommodation, did not return with an Answer. This Mark of Obſtinacy, at the Beginning of the new Government, gave Cauſe to apprehend evil Conſequences. *Cortes* was deſirous of retreating with Reputation, and had already concerted with his Officers and Soldiers that their Departure ſhould be very ſpeedy, being fully convinced, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to recruit himſelf with freſh Forces, in order to return with better Hopes to *Mexico*, the Conqueſt of which he always looked upon as a Thing which would certainly be, and which he now conſidered as an indiſpenſible Obligation on him to proſecute, ſince the Death of *Motezuma*; out of Reſpect and Conſideration to whom he had kept his Reſolutions within more moderate Bounds than he now thought himſelf obliged to do.

It was not long before the *Indians* explained what they had been contriving during that Suſpenſion of Hoſtilities; for the next Morning after the Day on which

which they celebrated the Funeral Obsequies of *Moteczuma*, they renewed the War upon a better Footing, and with a greater Number of People. By Break of Day all the Streets thereabouts were filled, and the Towers of a great Temple garrisoned, which was but little distant from the Quarters, and where they could command Part of the Palace with their Slings and Arrows: That was a Post which *Cortes* himself would have fortified, had he been Master of Forces enough to divide them; but he would not be guilty of the Error of those, who in order to ward against Contingencies, are wanting in what immediately concerns them.

THE Ascent to the upper Court of this Temple was by a hundred Steps, upon the Pavement whereof some tolerably large Towers were erected. In this they had lodged about five hundred Men, chosen out of the *Mexican* Nobility, who were so fully bent upon maintaining it, that they had provided themselves with Arms, Ammunitions, and all other Necessaries, for many Days.

CORTES found himself under an unavoidable Obligation to dislodge the Enemy from this commanding Eminence, the Advantages whereof, once known and improved, might produce very dangerous Consequences, and required a vigorous Effort towards a speedy Remedy. The better to succeed in this Attempt without Hazard, he drew the greatest Part of his Garrison without the Wall, dividing them into such Battalions as were necessary to defend the Avenues, and hinder the Enemy from receiving Reinforcements. The Attack of the Temple he committed to the Conduct of Captain *Escobar*, with his Company, and about a hundred more choice *Spaniards*. The Engagement began; the *Spaniards* possessed themselves of the Entrances of all the Streets, and at the same Time *Escobar* made his Attack,

tack, gaining the lower Porch, and Part of the Stairs, without Opposition; for the *Indians* suffered them purposely to advance so far, that they might have the Advantage of assailing them nearer; and when they saw their Opportunity, they lined the Rails of the upper Porch with Men, and gave the Charge by letting fly their Arrows and Darts with so much Fury, and in such good Order, that *Escobar* was obliged to stop, and to order the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows to play against those who appeared: But it was not possible to withstand the second Charge, which was much more furious. The *Mexicans* had prepared huge Stones, and prodigious large Beams, which they let tumble from the Top; which gaining Force by the Steepness of the Descent, forced the *Spaniards* to give back a first, second, and third Time: Some of the Beams came down half burned, that they might do the greater Damage. An odd Imitation of our Fire-Arms, and it is to be supposed, was thought a notable Contrivance amongst their Engineers. But, however, the *Spaniards* were obliged to break their Ranks to avoid those rude Salutes; and when once they were put into Confusion, the Retreat was unavoidable.

CORTES, who with a Troop of Horse, was running to all Parts where they were engaging, saw this Disadvantage of his People; and consulting only the Impulses of his Valour, he dismounted; and having reinforced *Escobar* with some *Tlascalans* of the Body of Reserve, and those of his own Troop, he caused a Shield to be fastened to his wounded Arm, and with Sword in Hand advanced to the Stairs, with a Resolution so determined, that those who followed him, being animated by his generous Example, became wholly insensible of the Danger. He happily soon overcame the Impediments which obstructed the Assault, gained the last Stair at the first At-

tack, and presently after, the Rails of the upper Court, where they came to Handy-Blows with Swords and Clubs. Those *Mexicans* were all Nobles; and it soon appeared, by the Defence they made, what Difference the Spur of Reputation makes among Men. They suffered themselves to be cut to Pieces rather than surrender their Arms: Some cast themselves headlong from the Rails, persuaded that a voluntary Death was by far the most honourable. The Priests, and those who attended the Service of the Temple, after calling upon the *Mexicans* to defend their Gods, died valiantly fighting: And in a very little Time *Cortes* intirely gain'd the Post, with the Slaughter of all those *Mexican* Nobles, without losing one Man, or having many wounded.

THE Resolution form'd by Two valiant *Indians*, in the very Heat of the Engagement, and the intrepid Boldness with which they endeavoured to execute their Design, were very remarkable, and ought not to be passed over in Silence. They had resolved to sacrifice their Lives for the Benefit of their Country, believing that they should finish the War by their Deaths; and to this Purpose they had both agreed to precipitate themselves from the Rails, on that Side where there were no Stairs, and to carry *Cortes* along with them. They stood together watching an Opportunity, and immediately, when they saw him near the Precipice, they flung down their Arms, and approach'd him like Deserters coming to surrender; and being before him, they bent their Knees in the Posture of Suppliants, when all on a sudden they seiz'd him, and us'd their utmost Efforts to force him to the Precipice; but he, not without Difficulty, broke loose, and got clear of them, when at the same Instant they threw themselves headlong to the Ground, and were dash'd

dash'd to Pieces. *Cortes* remain'd rather astonish'd than angry; he was sensible of the imminent Danger he had been in, by the Death of the Aggressors; but was not much displeased at their Boldness, upon Account of the Bravery of the Attempt.

SOME Circumstances occur'd in this Action at the Temple, which made the Reduction thereof much easier than it would otherwise have been. The *Indians* were confounded and terrify'd to see themselves attack'd by a greater Number than ordinary, and by the *Spanish* Captain himself, whom they look'd upon as invincible. In the Defence of the Stairs they were rather precipitate and confus'd, than regularly diligent; and the Beams which they cast down cross-ways, and wherein indeed consisted the best Part of their Defence, were observed always to fall Point foremost, and so pass'd on thro' the Assailants, without hurting any of them; a Thing which too frequently happen'd to be look'd upon as barely casual: And there are some who relate it as one of those Miracles which divine Providence wrought in this Conquest. All this might be owing to their Confusion: But it is certain, that this one Circumstance very much facilitated the Success of that Attack; and considering how much is to be attributed to God alone in this War, it will not be very much out of the Way, for once, to make the Wonderful and the Miraculous equivocal.

CORTES immediately took Care to have convey'd to the Quarters all the Provisions which the *Indians* had laid up in the Store-Rooms of the Temple; a considerable Quantity, and a necessary Supply upon that Occasion. He then ordered, that the Temple, the Towers, and some Houses which were contiguous, should be set on Fire and destroyed, that his Artillery might command all

that Eminence. The Management of this he committed to the *Tlascalans*, who instantly put it in Execution; and turning his Eye towards the Part where the rest of his People were engag'd, he perceiv'd that the greatest Force of the Enemy was in the Street of *Tacuba*, where the *Spaniards* were warmly charged, and hard put to it in defending that important Avenue; upon which he immediately mounted his Horse, and putting the Reins of his Bridle over his wounded Arm, he took a Lance in the other Hand, and hastened to their Assistance, ordering the rest of the Horse to follow him, together with *Escobar*, and those under his Command. The Cavalry pass'd on before, breaking thro' the Multitude, wounding oversetting, and trampling them under Foot on every Side without losing one Stroke, or ever being forgetful of their own Defence. The Action was very bloody: For such of the *Indians* who withdrew on either Side to avoid the Shock of the Cavalry, fell in, already half vanquish'd, with the Infantry, who found but little Difficulty in compleating their Defeat. But *Cortes* somewhat inconsiderately advanc'd before the rest of his Troops, suffering himself to be hurry'd away too impetuously by the Fire which animated his fearless Breast; and when he began to recollect himself, and to consider his Error, he perceived that he could not retire, by Reason that he found a numerous Throng of the flying Enemy bearing down upon him, owing the present Danger his Life was in to the Success of his own Troops.

In this perilous Circumstance, he resolved to take another Street, hoping he should there meet with less Opposition; and in advancing a few Paces, he fell into a confused Body of *Indians* who were dragging along his intimate Friend *Andres de Duero*,

Duero, whom they had taken Prisoner by the unhappy Stumbling of his Horse, and whose Life they had spar'd for the present, having destin'd him to the Sacrifice. *Cortes* intrepidly charg'd that disorderly Convoy, and breaking thro' the foremost, trampled under his Horse's Feet all who stood in his Way, insomuch that his Friend had an Opportunity to disengage himself from those who held him, and to make Use of a Dagger or Poniard they had, thro' Negligence, overlook'd when they disarm'd him, with which he made Way by the Deaths of several of the Enemy, so as to recover his Lance and Horse, when the Two Friends joining, they passed the Street on a full Gallop, breaking through whole Troops of the Enemy, till they got safe to their own. This Action *Cortes* always celebrated looking upon it as one of the most fortunate Adventures of his Life, an Opportunity of saving his Friend so luckily falling in his Way at a Juncture when he was wholly dubious of his own Safety: But Fortune (taking the Word in its true, proper, and *Catholic* Signification) was so remarkably favourable to him in whatsoever he took in Hand, that his very Oversight and Inadvertencies seldom or never fail'd of turning to his Advantage.

THE Enemy was now retiring on every Side; but it was not thought advisable to engage any farther, because it was not possible to follow the Chace, without leaving the Quarters exposed. A Signal therefore was made for the Retreat; and notwithstanding they returned very much fatigued with that tedious Encounter, it was without Loss, or any other Damage than that of a few Soldiers wounded; which was a Circumstance which gave a greater Relish to their Repose, the Thoughts of their cheap and successful Victory quickly making

them forget the Fatigues they had undergone in the Battle. This Day a considerable Number of Houses were consum'd with Fire, and such a Multitude of the Enemy lost their Lives, that it was hoped that they would have been terrify'd from attempting any new Insults upon the Quarters. Some affirm this Sally to have been made before the Death of *Moteczuma*: But it was after, according to the Relation given by *Cortes* himself, whom we follow without any farther Examination, this not being a Case in which the exact Time of its happening can be of very great Importance. The Success at the Attack of that Temple was chiefly owing to the General's own Valour; for by his single Resolution and Example he render'd superable those Difficulties which had put all the rest to a Stand. In that Action he Twice forgot of what Importance his Life was to the Cause, exposing his Person to the greatest Dangers with much more Courage than Consideration; an Excess of Martial Vigour, which notwithstanding it was attended with Success, merits rather to be admired than commended.

THE *Mexicans* made such great Account of this Exploit of storming and destroying the Temple, that they painted it after their Manner; and some Pieces afterwards came to Light, in which the whole Action was fully represented; as the attacking the Stairs; the Encounter in the upper Porch; and lastly their Defeat, and how they abandoned the Post to their Enemies the *Spaniards*, together with the burning that Edifice, the Towers, circumjacent Houses, &c. without disguising any material Circumstance; those Pictures being their Histories and Chronicles, which they held in high Veneration, and upon the Authority whereof they laid a very great Stress, deeming it a Crime to deceive Posterity.

Posterity. But in this Particular it was very observable, that they were not altogether free from a malicious Vanity, and introduc'd some additional Fictions of their own, with the View of enhancing the Glory of their Nation; for they represented many *Spaniards* lying dead, some precipitating themselves, or thrown headlong down from the Eminence, and others sorely wounded, destroying, as may be said, with the Pencil those whom they were not able to injure with their Weapons; and endeavouring to palliate their Defeat by exposing their Loss in such Colours as might make the Advantage their Enemies obtained over them appear like a dear-bought Victory; a Want of Exactness, from which Historians are not free, amongst whom this Sort of Partiality, with which they relate Facts, wresting the Circumstances according to the Inclination which biasses their Pens, is become a familiar Vice; insomuch that there are few Histories to be met with, wherein, upon Perusal, the Country and Inclinations of the Author are not to be discovered. *Plutarch*, in his Treatise of the *Glory of the Athenians*, finds no small Parity between History and Painting; as being, both the One and the Other, lively Descriptions and Representations of Things and Actions. But this Similitude between the Pencil and the Pen is never so obvious, as when the Places where the Facts were done are delineated with those Kinds of artful Strokes which pass for Ornaments to the Work, and are, in Reality, no other than the *Perspectives* in Painting, and may be properly called the *Distances* of Truth.

C H A P. XVII.

The Mexicans propose Peace; but with the View of distressing the Spaniards by Want of Provisions. Their Disingenuity is discovered. Cortes holds a Consultation with his Officers, and it is resolved to leave Mexico that Night.

THE Day following the *Mexicans* demanded a Parley, to which *Cortes* consented, not without Hopes of coming to some reasonable Terms of Accommodation. He went to hear their Proposals from the Wall; and some of the Nobles drawing near, with few Attendants, they, on the Part of the new Emperor, proposed, "That he, and all his People, should immediately prepare to set out, and direct their March to the Sea Side, where their great Canoes (so they called the Ships) were waiting for them; assuring him That there should be a Cessation from all Hostilities for as much Time as was necessary for him to make himself ready for his Departure. Adding, That if he did not instantly determine to come to that Resolution, he might depend upon it, that both himself and all who were with him should inevitably perish; for that they were now convinced by Experience, that the *Spaniards* were not immortal; and that, tho' the Death of every *Spaniard* should cost them the Lives of Twenty Thousand Men, there would still remain a numerous Multitude to sing the conclusive Victory." *Cortes* answered, "That the *Spaniards* never pretended to be immortal, but valued themselves upon being Men of
 " more

“ more Valour and Strength than other Mortals ;
“ and in particular knew themselves to be so far
“ superior, in every Respect, to the *Mexicans*,
“ that without any greater Force than what he then
“ had with him, he had Courage enough to un-
“ dertake the total Destruction, not only of their
“ City but of the whole Empire : But that being
“ mov’d at the Calamities they had already suffer’d
“ thro’ their own Obstinacy, he was determined to
“ depart, since the Subject of his Embassy, and,
“ by Consequence, all the Business he had there,
“ was at an End by the Death of the Great *Mote-
“ zuma*, whose Bounties and Friendship had de-
“ tained him at *Mexico* ; and that he would put
“ that his Design in Execution without the least
“ Delay, as soon as some Articles, which were
“ necessary for the Disposition of his March, should
“ be mutually agreed upon.” The Deputies gave
Signs of being well satisfied, and in Reality they
desired no better Answer : But these Overtures of
Peace were made with perfidious Views.

THE new Emperor had called a Council of his
Ministers and Grandees to debate upon Matters re-
lating to the present War ; and after several Con-
ferences, it was resolv’d, That, to avoid the great
Damage they received from the *Spanish* Arms, the
lamentable Slaughter of their People, and the Ruin
of their City, the best Method would be to keep
them close block’d up, in order to distress them by
Famine ; not that they suppos’d the *Spaniards*
would surrender themselves, but in order to weaken
them, that when they were dispirited, and wanted
Strength, they might attack them with more Ad-
vantage ; having invented this new Way of redu-
cing an Enemy, till then a Novelty, and utterly un-
known amongst their Stratagems of War. It was
resolv’d to make Overtures of Peace, in order to
obtain

obtain the Suspension of Arms they desir'd; flattering themselves, that they might be able to protract the Treaty with various Proposals, till the small Reserve of Provisions laid up in the Quarters was consum'd; to which Purpose Orders were given, that all possible Care should be taken to hinder the Besieged from Relief; to block up, with Works and Bodies of Men posted at a proper Distance, all the Ways by which they might attempt to make their Escape; and to break down the Bridge at the Entrance of the Causeway, which led towards the Road to *Vera-Cruz*; thinking it no longer any ways convenient to suffer them to depart the City, lest, at this Juncture, when the Provinces were little satisfied with the present Government, they might foment the Malecontents to a Rebellion, or reinforce themselves by an Army of *Tlascalans*.

SOME of the Assembly called to mind several Persons of great Distinction who were Prisoners in the *Spanish* Quarters, reflecting upon what they must suffer, since of Necessity they would perish with Hunger, before that Calamity could affect the Enemy: But they were all so zealous for the publick Cause, that, after some Debates, they unanimously voted, that those Prisoners would be happy, and discharge their Duty, if they sacrificed their Lives for the Benefit of their Country; and it is not unlikely that they shou'd the worse upon Account of *Moteczuma's* Three Sons who were with them, and whose Deaths would be no ways unwelcome to that Assembly; the eldest being a hopeful young Prince, capable of wearing the Crown, highly esteemed by the People, and the only Person of whom the new Emperor had Reason to be jealous. A pitiful Weakness of such Ministers, to believe that they are labouring for the

the publick Good, when they are gratifying their own private Passions!

THEIR only Concern was for the Chief of their idolatrous Priests, who was likewise in the same Prison with those above-mentioned; for he was universally revered as the Second Person in the Empire, and they held it an unpardonable Offence against their false Deities to suffer him to perish. To procure his Liberty they made use of a very notable Piece of Policy. The same Deputies return'd again that Evening to demand another Conference, and propos'd on the Part of their Sovereign, "That in order to prevent any Misunderstandings which might retard the Treaty, it would not be improper for the *Spaniards* to send some one of their *Mexican* Prisoners to the Emperor, well instructed on the Subject of the Capitulation." This Expedient seem'd reasonable and easy; and the Deputies no sooner found it admitted, but they artfully let drop, (as by Way of friendly Advice) that none would be so proper to be employed as a certain ancient Priest whom they held confin'd; because he was an intelligent Person, able to explain all Points, and to remove all Difficulties which might be started; which specious and well-managed Pretext suffic'd for the obtaining what they desir'd: Not that *Cortes* was ignorant of the Artifice of the Proposal; but considering of what great Importance it was to sound the Minds of those People, he esteem'd it a small Matter to part with a Prisoner who was both troublesome and detestable. Soon after, the Priest was dismissed, fully instructed by the General in some Demands easy to be granted, relating to the Commodiousness of the March; intending afterwards (in Case he returned) to employ him farther in what must be agreed upon in Relation to the laying

laying down Arms, Hostages, and other Matters of greater Consequence: But it was to no Purpose to wait for his Return, it being soon evident that there was no such Design. The Centinels discovered, that the Enemy besieged the Quarters at a greater Distance than they were wont; that they appeared more wary and circumspect than ordinary, diligently casting up Trenches and other Works to defend the Passage of the Canals; and that they had detach'd some Bodies of Men to the Lake, who were breaking down the Bridges of the principal Causey, and cutting off all Communication with the Road which leads to *Tlascala*; a Proceeding which fully discover'd the Artifice of their Designs.

THIS Intelligence *Cortes* received with some Concern; but inured to overcome greater Difficulties, he re-assumed his natural Calmness; and upon his first Reflections, which always pointed directly at the Remedy, he ordered a Bridge of Beams and Planks to be made, wherewith to cover the Opening of the Causey, capable of bearing the Weight of the Artillery, and so contrived that it might, without much Difficulty, be carried by Forty Men. And without losing more Time than what was necessary for the compleating of this Work, he assembled his Captains to consult with them, and to take their Opinion concerning the Retreat, whether it should be made by Day or by Night. In the proposing of this Point he carried himself with an intire Indifferency, either because he had not yet come to any Resolution, or because he did not care to charge himself with the Success. Their Opinions were divided, some being for retreating by Night, others by Day, and both Parties had their Reasons *pro & contra*.

THOSE

THOSE who were of the first of these Opinions said, "That Valour and Prudence not being inconsistent with each other, they ought to chuse the Way which was most secure; That the *Mexicans*, whether out of Custom, or Superstition, were always wont to lay aside their Arms on the Night's Approach; and it was to be supposed that they would be now less vigilant than ordinary upon Account of the Negotiation for Peace, which they imagined was carrying on and accepted on our Side: And if their Intention was to disturb them in their March, as the Preparations they were making seem'd to promise, it was to be considered how much they ought to dread an Engagement in the very Passage of the Lake, where they could neither draw up their Ranks, nor make Use of the Cavalry, their Flanks all the while exposed to the Enemies Boats, obliged to force their Way in the Front, and defend themselves in the Rear." The others, on the contrary, maintained, "That it was by no Means practicable to begin a March by Night, with Baggage and Artillery, by an uncertain Road, raised upon the Waters, when the Season itself, cloudy and rainy as it then was, augmented the Darknefs, and increased the Absurdity of so ill-judged a Resolution; That the Attempt of moving an Army, with all its Impediments, and with the Trouble of laying Bridges to make the Passage free, was not an Undertaking to be effected without some Detention, and much Noise; neither in War were the merry Stories of an Enemy's Negligence to be depended upon, it being what one may indeed sometimes reap an Advantage from, but ought never to be taken for granted. That the supposed Custom of the

" *Mexicans*

“ *Mexicans* never being in Arms by Night, (be-
“ sides that it had been broken in upon, when they
“ set Fire to the Quarters, and possessed themselves
“ of the Temple) was not a sufficient Motive to be-
“ lieve that they had wholly abandoned the only
“ Opportunity they ought to secure: That it would
“ be far less hazardous to march out at a Time
“ when they might see the Dangers they had to
“ encounter, than to make a Retreat with the Ap-
“ pearances of a Flight, and by so doing to come
“ with little Credit, to seek the Protection of their
“ Confederates, who perhaps might despise their
“ Friendship, when they had once lost the Opinion
“ they had conceived of their Valour; or at least
“ it would be but very indifferent Policy to stand
“ in Need of Friends, and to apply to them after
“ they had lost their Reputation.”

THE Proposal of making the Retreat by Night
had most Votes, and *Cortes* gave Way to the Major-
ity; probably suffering himself to be prevailed
with for some reserved and private Reason. They
all agreed to hasten the March without farther De-
lay, and in Conclusion resolved that it should be
put in Execution that very Night, in order to avoid
giving the Enemy Time to contrive new Measures
for obstructing the Road of the Causeway with any
Works or Trenches, such as they used in the Passage
of their Canals. The building of the before-men-
tioned portable Bridge went on vigorously; and not-
withstanding it may be believed, that *Cortes* intended
to have made two others, there being three Open-
ings in the Causeway, they had not sufficient Time for
the Work, nor was it thought absolutely necessary,
as supposing, that they could remove the Bridge
from one Opening to another, when the Army had
passed the first: Suppositions in which Men are
ordinarily

ordinarily too late made sensible of the Difference there is between Speculation and Practice.

It is not to be denied, but that *Cortes*, in the Controversy there was among his Officers upon this Occasion, deported himself with a more indifferent Neutrality, and much less Activity than he was accustomed to do. It is believed, that he came to the Council somewhat inclined to the Opinion which prevailed, having given Ear to the vain Prediction of an Astrologer, who, as he was going in, advised him in mysterious Terms to march away that very Night; for that he should lose the greatest Part of his Army, if he suffered a certain favourable Constellation to pass, which was very near terminating in another Aspect, unfortunate. This Diviner was a *Spaniard*, a private Centinel, and called *Botello*, chiefly known in the Army by the Name of the Necromancer, to which Appellation he answered without the least Concern; esteeming it as an Allowing of his Abilities. He was an ignorant Fellow without Learning or Principles, who mightily valued himself upon penetrating into future Events; but he was neither so foolishly ignorant as they who really make a Study of those diabolical Arts, and attain to a Perfection in them, nor so innocent and blameless as not to make Use of some Characters, Numbers, or Words, such as contain within them an abominable Stipulation with the first Impostor. *Cortes* generally laugh'd at his Prognosticks, despising the Man for the Sake of his Profession; and even then heard him with the like Contempt; but he fell into the Fault of listening to him (which was little less than to consult him); and when he should have had Recourse to his own Prudence, in order to have chosen the most proper Method of Proceeding, he was influenced by those very Prognostications which he had so much despised. A pernicious Sort of People,

People, and dangerous Observations, which considerate Persons ought always to avoid and abhor, and more particularly those who command; for at the same Time that they are sensible of the Vanity thereof, they suffer their Minds to be prepossessed with something which inclines them either to Fear or Security; and when the Occasion comes for resolving, the Whimsies of the Imagination revolt against the Understanding, and always, in some Degree prejudice Reason.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Spaniards march out privately. At the Entrance of the Causey are discovered by the Indians, who attack them with their whole Power both by Land and Water: They get clear at last with great Difficulty, and considerable Loss, and reach the Town of Tacuba.

THE very same Evening the General dispatch'd another *Mexican* as his Ambassador to the City, with Pretence of continuing the Treaty begun by the before-mentioned Priest: This Feint was thought necessary to amuse the Enemy, giving them to understand the Sincerity of the *Spaniards* in the Negotiation, and that all Things should be got ready for their Departure within eight Days at farthest. Cortes in the mean while was diligently disposing Matters to begin the March, the Shortness of the Time making every Moment precious.

He distributed his Orders, and gave his Captains the necessary Instructions, providing against all Accidents which might happen upon the March with
all

all imaginable Precaution. He formed his Vanguard of two hundred *Spanish* Soldiers, with the choicest of the *Tlascalans*, and about twenty Horse, under the Conduct of the Captains *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Francisco de Azebedo*, *Diego de Ordaz*, *Francisco de Lugo*, and *Andres de Tapia*. He gave the Command of the Rear-Guard, with a greater Number both of Horse and Foot, to *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, and other Captains of those who came with *Narvaez*. In the main Body or Centre, he placed the Prisoners, Artillery, and Baggage with the rest of his Army, reserving with himself, to be employed as Necessity should require, one hundred choice Men, with the Captains *Alonzo Davila*, *Christoval de Olid*, and *Bernardino Vasquez de Tapia*. Things being thus disposed, he made a short Speech to his Soldiers, laying before them the Difficulties and Dangers of the Undertaking: Upon which he enlarged a little the more, because it was a current Opinion among them, that the *Mexicans* never engaged by Night, and it was necessary to inspire them with Distrust, lest they should fall into an over-great Security, a dangerous flattering Enemy in all Military Actions, inclining the Mind to a certain Carelessness, which seldom fails of producing fatal Consequences; whereas a prudent Fear is always wont to prevent a shameful one.

He next caused all the Gold and Silver, Jewels and precious Stones, which were in the Custody of *Christoval de Guzman*, Groom of his Chamber, to be brought into his Apartment; and out of it he separated the Fifth belonging to the King, in those Things which were most valuable, and least bulky, of which he made a formal Delivery to those Officers who had Care of the Accompts and Provisions of the Army; giving a Mare of his own, and some wounded Horses for the Carriage thereof, in order

to spare the *Indians* who might be in other Respects serviceable upon that Occasion. The Remainder, according to what Computation could be made, amounted to the Value of upwards of seven hundred thousand Pieces of Eight; all which Wealth he left with little or no Reluctancy, protesting publickly, "That it was no Time to embarrass themselves with it; and that it would be a Shame to employ those Hands so unworthily, which ought to be left free for the Defence of Life and Reputation." But finding the Soldiers not so well contented with this inexcusable Loss, he added, as he was going away, "That they ought not to look upon their Retreat from thence as an intire abandoning of that acquired Treasure, and their main Design, but as a necessary and indispensable Disposition in order to return to that Enterprize with a greater Force, after the same Manner as a Man draws back his Arm in order to give the greater Blow." And withal gave them to understand, that he should not think it a mighty Crime in them to take away as much of that Wealth as they conveniently could, which was the very same Thing in Effect, as to leave Moderation to the Discretion of Avarice: And tho' the greatest Part of them (notwithstanding they saw this abandoned Treasure in their Power) took Care to go light and ready for whatever might offer, there were some, and particularly of those who came with *Narvaez*, who gave themselves up to Pillage, without the least Consideration, finding Fault with the Narrowness of their Knapfacks, and the small Depth of their Pockets, loading their Shoulders beyond what they were well able to bear. A Permission in which all the Military Care and Circumspection of *Cortes* seemed to be asleep: For he could not possibly be ignorant, that rich Booty to a Soldier is not only an outward Embarrassment when there is Occasion to engage,

engage, but likewise and Obstruction to his Courage: It being much easier for those who have not a very great Regard for their Duty, to part with their Honour than with their Prize.

WE have no other Excuse to make for him, but that he was persuaded that he should be able to execute his March without meeting with any Opposition; and if this Security, which does not seem to have been his natural Disposition, had any Relation to the Prediction of the Astrologer, it must not be looked upon as a new Indiscretion, but as a second Inconvenience attending the first Fault of heatkenning to him.

It was little less than Midnight when they marched out of their Quarters, without the Centinels or advanced Guards finding any Thing to give them the least Suspicion: And notwithstanding both the Wetness of the Weather and Darkeness of the Night favoured their Intention of marching cautiously, and freed them from any Jealousy of the Enemy's continuing abroad in their Works, they so punctually observed Silence and Circumspection, that Fear itself could not have wrought what Obedience and Discipline did in those Soldiers. The portable Bridge went with the Van-Guard, and those who had the Charge of it, laid it over the first Canal; but the Weight of the Horse and the Artillery made it stick so fast in the Stones which supported it, that they were by no Means able to remove it to the other Canals, as they had designed; nor had they indeed an Opportunity to do it; for before the Army had all pass'd the first Breach of the Causey, they were obliged to take to their Arms with the greatest Precipitation, being assaulted on every Side, when they least of all suspected any such Matter.

THE Address with which those *Barbarians* disposed their Enterprize, was very worthy of Admiration. They observed with a dissembled Vigilance the Motions of their Enemies. They assembled and distributed without Noise the unmanageable Multitude of their Troops. They took Advantage of the Silence and Darknes of the Night to compass their Intention of drawing near without being discovered. They covered the whole Length of the Lake on each Side of the Causey with arm'd *Canoes*; beginning the Attack with so little Confusion, and such good Order, that the *Spaniards* heard their Shouts, and the warlike Sound of their Shells, almost at the same Time that they felt the Sharpness of their Arrows.

CORTES and his whole Army had undoubtedly been destroy'd, if the *Indians* had observ'd the same good Order in the Heat of the Engagement, as they did in the Beginning of the Attack: But to them Moderation and Discipline were a Constraint, and when once they began to be enrag'd, Obedience ceas'd, and Custom prevail'd; they charg'd in Heaps upon that Part where they perceived the Bulk of the Army; pressing upon each other after such a Manner, that their *Canoes* were broke to Pieces by striking upon the Causey; and the Violence of those who were furiously endeavouring to advance, proved a second Danger to the foremost. The *Spaniards* made terrible Destruction among that naked and disorderly Multitude; but they had not Strength sufficient to hold out such incessant Exercise of their Swords and Spears: Nor was it long before they found themselves likewise attack'd in Front; and were obliged to turn their Faces towards that Part where the Danger grew most pressing; for the *Indians* who were at a Distance, or who could not bear the Tedioufness of the Oars, flung

flung themselves into the Water, and by the Help of their Arms, and natural Agility, climb'd up upon the Causey in such Numbers, that they were not able to make use of their Weapons; and this new Assault proved a Relief to the *Spaniards*; for the *Mexicans* were easily routed, and all of them in a Manner being killed, their Bodies were sufficient to fill up the Canal, with no other Trouble than the flinging them in, where they served to supply the Want of a Bridge for the Army to pass over. After this Manner some of our Writers relate it; tho' others say, That they luckily found a Beam of sufficient Breadth, which the Enemy had left whole in the second Bridge, on which the Soldiers pass'd over in Files, guiding the Horses thro' the Water by the Bridles. After what Manner soever it happened, (for it is not easy to reconcile these different Accounts, nor indeed do all of them deserve Reflection) they overcame the Difficulty of this Pass by their indefatigable Industry, or good Fortune, and the Vanguard prosecuted their March without being much retarded by the last Canal; for the Water being shallower by the Neighbourhood of the Shore, they could easily wade thro' the Remainder of the Lake; esteeming it as a particular Piece of good Fortune, that the Enemy, out of such Multitudes of People as they had to spare, had not sent any Troops to the other Side; for that would have occasioned a new, and far more dangerous Dispute for those who were making to the Shore wounded, and half spent with the Water above their Middle: But this came not within the Compass of their Consideration, neither, probably, did they discover the Army's March till it was too late; or, what may be most likely, their Confusion and Disorder was so great, that they

could not think of all the Measures necessary to obstruct it.

CORTES pass'd with the first Body of his People, and ordering *Juan de Xaramillo* to take Care to form the Men as fast as they arrived, he returned without Delay to the Causey, with the Captains *Gonzalo de Sondoal*, *Christoval de Olid*, *Alonso Davila*, *Francisco de Morla*, and *Gonzalo Dominguez*. He entered into the Engagement, animating those who fought, as well by his Presence as by his Example: He reinforced his Troop with as many Soldiers as he thought necessary to stop the Enemy, on both Sides of the Causey, and ordered the rest to file off from the Centre, causing the Artillery to be thrown into the Water to free the Passage, and facilitate the March. His Valour did much in this Dispute; but his Mind suffered much more, when in the midst of this frightful Obscurity he heard the Voices of *Spaniards* calling upon God in the last Moments of their Life, whose Lamentations confusedly mix'd with the Shouts and Threats of the *Indians*, caus'd another terrible Conflict in his Breast between the Impulses of Anger and the Motions of Pity and Compassion.

THESE melancholy Sounds came from a Part of the City, where it was wholly impracticable to give any Relief, by Reason the Enemy, who were rowing up and down upon the Lake, had taken Care to destroy the portable Bridge, before the Rear-guard had all pass'd; and there it was the *Spaniards* suffered most: For the chief Body of the *Mexicans* clos'd with them, obliging them to retreat to the Causey, cutting in Pieces all the hinder-most and least circumspect, who, for the most Part, were of the Number of those who were wanting in their Duty, and had evaded entering into the Fight for the sake of the Gold which they had brought from

from the Quarters. These died ignominiously, hugging and embracing the miserable Load which made them Cowards in the Engagement, and tardy in their Flight, not only losing their own worthless Lives, but blemishing the Character of their Nation, and bringing an unjust Reflection upon the whole Expedition; for they passed in the Account of the Dead, as Men who had sold their Lives at a dearer Rate, whereas in Equity and Reason Cowards ought not to be counted in the Number of the Conquer'd.

CORTES at last retir'd with all he could pick up of the Rear-guard, and as he was penetrating thro' the second Space of the Causey, with little or no Opposition, he was joined by *Pedro de Alvarado*, who owed his Life to little less than a Miracle of Activity and Resolution: For having found himself closely beset on every Side, his Horse killed under him, and one of the Canals still before him in his Way, he fix'd his Lance, or Spear, in the Bottom of the Lake, and forcibly raising his Body by a notable Spring of his Feet, poizing and supporting his Weight in the Air by the Strength of his Arms, with a desperate Leap cast himself on the other Side: A surprizingly bold Action, and which has since been looked upon as something surpassing Nature; and *Alvarado* himself, when he afterwards reflected upon the enormous Distance, and the Success he had met with in the Attempt, easily became sensible of the Disproportion there was between the Fact itself and the Feasibility of it. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, in his History, seems to doubt of the Truth of this unaccountable Leap, making no Scruple of treating it as a mere Fiction, and indeed actually contradicts the whole, tho' he does not express himself after a very regular Manner; for at first he slightly passes over this Circumstance, and

anon returns to it again, with the Diffidence of one who is afraid of being in the wrong, or repents his having given into the Belief of it with too much Facility. But in our Opinion it is less easy to believe that *Alvarado* should feign such a strange Story, and father upon himself an Action which, if ever so much taken for granted, would at the best only give an Opinion of his Agility, but could add no Manner of Reputation to his Valour. We relate no more than what has been credited and affirm'd by Writers, and authoriz'd by Tradition, that Place being still known under the Denomination of *Alvarado's Leap*; nor do we find any great Difficulty in believing, upon this Occasion, as in several others, that Truth may be consistent with Improbability: And considering the Extremity to which *Pedro de Alvarado* then found himself reduced, the Thing appears less wonderful, as being not so much an Action absolutely beyond the Power of a Man to perform, as an extraordinary Effort of a Person driven to the last Necessity.

C H A P. XIX.

Cortes marches the Road towards Tlascala, Some Troops from the circumjacent Towns follow the Army at a Distance, till being join'd by the Mexicans, who likewise pursue him, they attack his Rear, and oblige him to take Refuge in a Temple.

THE Army gain'd the firm Land with the first Appearance of the Day, and halted near *Tacuba*, not without some Jealousy of that Town, which

which was very populous, and in the Interest of the *Mexicans*; but they took Care not immediately to quit the Neighbourhood of the Lake, that they might give Time to those who could escape from the Battle to save themselves: Nor was that Precaution unnecessary; for several *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* found the Advantage of that Stop, who by their Valour and good Management got off by swimming to the Shore, where they hid themselves in the Fields of *Maiz* till the Morning.

THESE gave the General an Account that the last Division of the Rear-guard was intirely cut off; and *Cortes* having drawn up his Troops, found that he had lost about two Hundred *Spaniards*, more than one Thousand *Tlascalans*, forty-six Horses, and all the *Mexican* Prisoners, which last, not being able to make themselves known in the Confusion and Obscurity of the Night, were treated as Enemies by those of their own Nation. The *Spaniards* were fatigued and discouraged, their Numbers diminished, and the Artillery all lost, expecting every Moment to be attack'd, and the Place of their Retreat far off; and among so many Motives of Concern, their Misfortune received a greater Addition by the Loss of some principal Captains, in which Number those of the greatest Note were, *Amador de Larez*, *Francisco de Morla*, and *Francisco de Salcedo*, who lost their Lives, discharging their Duties with extraordinary Valour. *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, who retreated in the very last of the Rear-guard, likewise lost his Life, oppress'd by Multitudes, shewing an invincible Courage even to the latest Gasps: A Loss which was generally lamented; for all Men respected him, as the Second Person in the Army. He was an Officer of very great Use, as well for his Advice as for his Readiness to execute; somewhat reserved in this Manner, but sincere

sincere and upright; grave without being disagreeable or formal; on all Occasions a strict Lover of Truth, and had a Mind so noble and generous, that he followed *Cortes*, and forsook his Kinsman *Diego Velasquez*, merely because he looked upon the Proceedings of the one too rash and unreasonable, and found those of the other to be just and honourable. He died with the Character of a Person very necessary in this Conquest, was often remembered, and universally regretted.

CORTES sat down upon a Stone to rest himself a little, while his Captains were putting the Troops in Order, and disposing them to prosecute their March. He found himself so oppressed with inward Concern, that he never more than now stood in Need of all his Magnanimity and Resolution to temper his Grief, and suit it to the present Posture of Affairs. He summoned up all his Constancy to his Assistance, begging a Truce of his melancholy Reflections: But at the same Time that he gave his Orders, animated his People, and exerted himself with his wonted Alacrity, and peculiar Vivacity, his Eyes let fall Tears, which he was not able to conceal from those who were about him; a manly Weakness, which, as it express'd a tender Concern for the common Cause, could not cast any manner of Blemish upon his Courage. It must certainly have been a Spectacle worthy of Admiration, to behold that renowned Leader so sensibly touch'd, without the least Abatement of his undaunted Resolution, and his Countenance all bathed in Tears without losing any Part of the Air of a Conqueror.

HE inquired for the Astrologer, whether in order to reprimand him for the Part he had in hastening the March, or to divert his Melancholy by rallying him upon his Science; but he was told that he was killed

killed in the first Assault of the Causey, that Wretch having met the Fate common to those of his Profession. We speak not of those who really understand the Foundation of that Art, making Use of the same by the Rules of Reason; but of those who take upon them the Character of judicial Astrologers or Diviners: A Set of Men, who for the Generality live wretchedly, and die miserably; ever solicitous about other People's Happiness, and always unhappy themselves; insomuch that one of the Classick Authors takes upon him to say, *That the very Inclination to a vain Observation of the Stars, is a sufficient Argument to induce one to believe, that the Person who has that Curiosity was born under an evil Planet.*

BUT in the Midst of these Misfortunes, it was no small Consolation to *Hernan Cortes*, and the whole Army, that *Donna Marina* and *Geronimo de Aguilar* had found Means to escape from the Battle, in the terrible Confusion of that Night, they being the principal Instruments of the Conquest, and no less necessary at this Time than they had been before; for without them it was altogether impossible to stir up or engage the Friendship of the Nations they were going to seek. Nor was it less happy, that the *Mexicans* did not follow the Chace; for they gave Time to the *Spaniards* to breathe after their Fatigue, and to march in better Order, and with less Haste, mounting the disabled Men on the Cruppers of the Horses. This Stop of the *Mexicans* proceeded from an unthought-of Accident, which may be attributed to the Providence of God. The Sons of *Moteczuma*, who had attended their Father during his Continuance in the Quarters, together with all the *Mexican* Prisoners who were left under Convoy with the Baggage, were unfortunately killed by the Enemy; and in the Morning
the

the *Indians*, allured by the Spoils of the Dead, beheld, pierced thro' with their own Arrows, the Bodies of those unhappy Princes, whom they revered with that same kind of Adoration they once did their deceased Father. They stood amaz'd, stupified, and confounded at the Sight, without daring to pronounce the Cause of their Astonishment. Those who first saw it drew back, that others might approach, and all in general were mute, expressing their Surprize by Silence. However, it was not long before the News was carried thro' the Troops, and they were all seized with Fear and Amazement; the Use of their Senses and Faculties being for some time suspended, with that kind of sudden Terror, which the Ancients called *Panick Fear*. The *Mexican* Chiefs resolved to send an Account of this to the new Emperor; and he, who was forced to affect a Concern out of Compliance with those whose Grief was unfeigned, commanded the Army to halt; beginning the Ceremony of the Funeral Outcries and Lamentations which used to precede the Obsequies, whilst the Priests, followed by all who had remained in the City, came to receive the Royal Bodies, in order to conduct them to the Burying-place of their Ancestors. It was to the Death of those Princes that the *Spaniards* were indebted for the first Recovery from their Confusion, and that seasonable Respite: But they lamented their untimely Fate as one of the greatest Losses that could have befallen them; and particularly *Cortes*, who, in those Princes, loved and respected the Memory of their Father, and had founded Part of his Hopes in the Right of the Elder.

CORTES in the mean while directed his March towards *Tlascala*, with Guides of that Nation, his Army continually in Battle Array, as not being
without

without Suspicion of some Design in the Enemy's Delay; and upon such Occasions Diffidence and Fear is oftner attended with Success than is a too confident Security.

It was not long before some Bands of arm'd *Indians* appeared, who followed the Army, without approaching within Shot. These were the Inhabitants of *Tacuba*, *Escapuzalco*, and *Tenecuya*, whom the *Mexicans* had summoned out to observe the *Spaniards* on the March, till such time as they had discharged themselves of their Duty towards the Sons of *Motezuma*. A politick Contrivance in those barbarous People! However, these were but a small Annoyance to the *Spaniards* upon the Road; for they always kept at a Distance: So that they only offended with their scurrilous Language and Shouts: But they continued this Kind of Harmless Hostility, till the whole Multitude of the *Mexicans* came up; at which Time they all instantly united, and advancing with their customary Swiftnefs, made so brisk and so resolute an Attack upon the Army, that they were all obliged to face about to repulse them.

CORTES extended his Front, where he posted his Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, being obliged to engage in the open Field, without having any Place of Security to retire to. As many of the *Indians* as had Courage enough to venture near, died, without any Discouragement to the rest. The Horse sallied out to skirmish, and made a very great Slaughter: But the Number of the Enemy continually increased, and their Arrows and Slings did considerable Damage from afar. The *Spaniards* were tired and without Hopes of repulsing that enormous Multitude; and now their Valour began to slacken for Want of Strength, when *Cortes*, who behaved himself in the Battle like a Soldier, without
out

out forgetting the Duty of a General, observed a certain rising Ground at no great Distance from thence, which commanded the whole circumjacent Plain. Upon the Top of that Eminence was a towered Building, which appeared like a Fortrefs, or at least the Exigence in which he found himself, made him fancy it as such. He resolved to possess himself of this Post for the Advantage of its Situation; and detaching a Party of Men to reconnoitre it, he moved with the Army in order to gain it, which he did not find could be effected without Difficulty, being obliged to face the Enemy all the while ascending the Hill, and to place some Companies of Harquebusiers to defend the Avenues; but he happily compass'd his Design, possessing himself of the Tower without Resistance, and in that found all the Advantages, which at that Time his Imagination could frame.

It was a Temple dedicated to the *Sylvan* Deities, to which those *Barbarians* recommended the Fertility of their Harvests. The Priests and Servants who attended the abominable Worship of that Place, had quitted it, flying from the Neighbourhood of War, as People of a different Profession. The Court of this Temple was sufficiently capacious, encompassed with a Wall, after their Manner of building, which, together with the Towers wherewith it was flanked, rendered it tolerably defensible. Under the Shelter of these Works, which was looked upon as an impregnable Fortrefs, the *Spaniards* began to breathe. They lifted up their Eyes and Hearts towards Heaven, receiving this timely Relief from the imminent Perils to which they had been exposed, as an immediate Succour from Divine Providence: Nor did this pious Reflection cease to remain with them even after the Danger was all over; for in Memory of the signal
Service

Service that Temple did them, in affording them Shelter in an Exigence wherein they were near being reduced to the last Extremity, they erected afterwards in that very Place a Hermitage, with the Invocation of the *Blessed Virgin*, which is known to this Day by the Name of *Neustra Sennora de los Remedios*, where People daily find Relief in their Necessities; and where, in the Devotion of the Faithful, who are Inhabitants of those Parts, may be seen the Acknowledgment and grateful Remembrance they retain of so great a Benefit.

THE Enemy did not dare to mount the Hill, nor did they give any Signs of their intending an Assault: But they approached within Musket Shot, begirting the Eminence on all Parts, and made some Advances to shoot their Arrows, wounding, for the most Part, the Air, and sometimes the Walls, as if it were to chastize them for opposing their Vengeance. In the mean Time nothing was to be heard but barbarous Shouts and Menaces, whereby they endeavoured to conceal the Defects of their Valour, and which served only to discover their Weakness. They were, with little Trouble, kept off till the Evening began to approach, at which Time they all retired, and took the Road towards *Mexico*; whether it was to comply with the Observation of their Custom, of retiring with the Sun, or that they found themselves tired with having been in a Manner continually engaged from Midnight till then. It was discovered from the Top of the Towers, that they halted in the Middle of the Plain, and dividing into several Bodies, endeavoured to conceal themselves; as if they had not given sufficient Evidence of their Intention, and published, by the Manner of their Retreat, that they left the Dispute in Suspence.

CORTES

CORTES disposed every Thing in his Quarters with all the Care and Circumspection that a Night so unsecure, and a Post so threatened, obliged him. He ordered the Guards and Centinels to be sooner relieved than ordinary, that all might have their Share of Rest. They made some Fires, as well because the Coldness of the Season required this Relief, as to consume the Arrows of the *Mexicans*, thereby to deprive the Enemy of that Ammunition.

HE gave a small Refreshment to the People of the Provisions found in the Temple, and what the *Indians* had saved with the Baggage. Particular Care was taken of the Cure of the Wounded, which was attended with no small Difficulties in a Place where all Necessaries were wanting; but they applied such Remedies as the Place afforded, and which in some Measure supplied the Want of more proper Medicines, by asswaging their Pain, and the Horse-Cloths served for Lint and Bandage.

CORTES took Care of all, but still without forgetting the Danger to which he lay exposed; and before he would retire to take the least Repose, he assembled his Officers to consult with them what was to be done in this Juncture. He had already formed his Resolution, but he always evaded deciding in hazardous Matters, and he was a great Master at bringing People over to what was reasonable, without shewing his own Opinion, or making Use of his Authority. He proposed different Methods which might be taken, with the several Inconveniences attending them, leaving them to judge which Expedient was most adviseable. He began by intimating, " That such Difficulties as those in
" which they had been engaged all that Evening,
" were not to be overcome a second Time; neither
" could they ever again, without apparent Rashness,
" undertake

“ undertake a March, with the Opposition of an
“ Army so superior to them in Number, and under the Necessity of fighting and retiring at the
“ same Time: That to avoid being again forced
“ to a Resolution so dangerous, and accompanied
“ with so many Inconveniencies, he had some
“ Thoughts of attacking the Enemy in their Lodg-
“ ment under Favour of the Night; but he was
“ of Opinion, that it would be but a fruitless Labour, since at the best, they should only oblige
“ the Multitude to disperse for the present, who
“ would not fail to join again, from which Method of theirs had proceeded the Tedioufness of
“ that War: That he had thought afterwards of
“ maintaining the Post they were in, till such Time
“ as the *Mexicans* should be tired with keeping the
“ Field; but that the Want of Provisions, which
“ they already suffered, likewise rendered that Method impracticable.” And lastly he told them,
(and this was what he had determined upon) “ That
“ he had been thinking whether or no it would
“ not be the best Way to march that same Night,
“ and get two or three Leagues from thence by
“ Morning; that the Enemy, according to their
“ Custom, not moving till Sun-rising, they should
“ have the Advantage of gaining Ground without
“ any farther Trouble; and in case the *Mexicans*
“ should resolve to follow the Pursuit, they would
“ not be able to overtake them before they had
“ tired themselves, and it would be easier to continue the Retreat with a less vigorous Opposition.
“ But considering that the Troops were in so bad
“ a Condition, wearied and near spent, it would be
“ a Piece of unreasonable Inhumanity to put them
“ without new Cause, upon the Fatigue of an un-
“ seasonable March, in a dark Night, and uncertain Road: However, that the present Exigence
“ they

“ they were in, required extraordinary Remedies,
 “ and a speedy Resolution; and in a Case where
 “ nothing was secure, they were to weigh the se-
 “ veral Difficulties, and to chuse that which was at-
 “ tended by the fewest Inconveniencies.”

He had scarce finished his Discourse, when all the Captains agreed, That no other Resolution was practicable, and that they ran the least Hazard in resolving to proceed on their March without further Delay than what was absolutely necessary, meaning some Hours of Rest to refresh the People; and it was determined to begin the March at Midnight; Cortes conforming himself to what was really his own Opinion, tho' he treated it as the Opinion of others. A subtil Piece of Policy which he was accustomed to make Use of, in order to prevent Disputes when the Affair was urgent, and admitted of no Delay, and which only those can practise who understand the Art of deciding by asking Advice, and of making a Proposal in such a Manner as to leave no room for Objections.

C H A P. XX.

The Spaniards continue their Retreat. They undergo great Fatigue and Difficulties. The Army reaches the Vally of Otumba, where, in a pitched Battle, the whole Power of Mexico is utterly defeated.

A Little before the appointed Hour, the Troops were assembled, having slept in Fear, and waked without Difficulty. The Order to march, and the Reason for so doing, were given at the same Time;

Time; upon which they all diligently prepared for their setting out, applauding the Prudence of the Resolution. *Cortes* ordered, that as a Blind to conceal from the Enemy their Motion, they should leave all the Fires burning; and giving to *Diego de Ordaz* the Charge of the Van-Guard, with some trusty and intelligent Guides, he placed his chief Strength in the Rear, where he himself remained, that he might be nearer the Danger, and by his Care and Vigilance, be a Security to those who pass'd before. They set forward with all necessary Caution, and the Guides being ordered to keep at some Distance from the High Road, till the Morning, they marched a little more than half a League, without the Silence of the Night being interrupted by the least Noise.

BUT, upon their entring into a broken and hilly Ground, the Scouts fell into an Ambush, which the very People who endeavoured to hide themselves, knew not how to conceal; for they gave Notice of the Danger beforehand, both by Shouts and Stones. Divers Troops of *Indians* came pouring down from the Eminences, and rushing out from among the Bushes, and without Order, attacked on the Flanks; and notwithstanding they were not so numerous as to oblige the Army to halt, yet the *Spaniards* were necessitated to beat off the most daring of the Enemy who ventured nearest, to break through several Ambuscades, and to dispute divers narrow Passes. The *Spaniards* were apprehensive at first, that it was a second Attack of the whole Army, which they had left on the other Side of the Temple; and some of our Writers report this Action as a Pursuit made by those *Mexicans*: But these intermitted and loose Attacks were not agreeable to their Manner of fighting, nor to what they afterwards did: And in our Opinion, they were the Militia of the neighbouring

Towns, who, by previous Orders received from Court, endeavoured to disturb the Army's March, posting themselves in the broken Parts of the Road: For if the *Mexicans* had discovered the Retreat, they would have come all in a Body as they were accustomed to do; they would, with their united Force, have begun the Attack in the Rear, and not have divided themselves into small Companies, converting the War into a few light Skirmishes.

WITH this kind of Opposition, which was rather troublesome than dangerous, the Army advanced two Leagues; and a little before Day, they halted in another Temple, less capacious, and situated upon an Eminence not altogether so high as the former, but of sufficient Height to view the Country round about, and by the Number of Enemies they should discover, to judge what Measures and Resolutions were properest to be taken for their Security. The Light of the Morning did not only discover what Sort of *Indians* they had to deal with, but likewise the Disorder in which they were; and finding that what they had suspected for a new Charge of the Enemy's Army, was no more than the Insults of a despicable Herd of Peasants, they renewed their March without farther Delay, with the Intent of advancing as far before the Enemy as possibly they could, in order to avoid, or at least to render more difficult, the Pursuit of the *Mexicans*.

THE *Indian* Peasants continued their Shouts, following the Army at a Distance, like frightened Dogs, which by barking express their impotent Rage; till having advanced about two Leagues farther, they discovered a Village advantageously situated, and, as they believed, well peopled. *Cortes* pitched upon this Place for his Quarters, and gave Orders to his Troops to possess themselves of it by Force, if they could

could not by fair Means; but they found it wholly forsaken by the Inhabitants, together with some Provisions which they could not carry off; and which, at that Juncture, were very necessary for the recruiting their exhausted Strength.

HERE the Army stayed a Day, and some say two; the Condition of the Wounded being such, that they could not proceed sooner. They made two Marches more through a Country still more rocky and barren, always out of the great Road, and somewhat doubtful whether their Guides went right. They had no Cover, under which to pass the Night; nor did the Persecution of those *Indians* cease, who continually kept in Sight; or perhaps they might be others, who came out upon the first Order to follow them thro' their respective Districts. But above all other Inconveniences in these Marches, they suffered Hunger and Thirst to that Degree, that they wanted little of being quite dispirited. The Officers and Soldiers animated each other; and Patience, ambitious of vying with Valour, us'd its utmost Efforts to withstand those severe Trials. They were forced to have Recourse to the Herbs and Roots of the Field for Sustenance, without examining whether they were venomous or harmless, tho' such as were the most prudent, governed themselves by the Knowledge and Example of the *Tlascalans*. One of the wounded Horses died, and the Want they had of that Creature's Service in the Army was forgot with Joy; for it was divided, as a particular Regale, among those who were in the greatest Extremity, who celebrated the Feast by inviting their best Friends to partake of that dainty Food. A relishing Banquet at that Time, at which all Scruples of the Stomach gave Way to Necessity.

THE last of these two Marches terminated in a little Village, whose Inhabitants, without abandon-

ing their Dwellings like the others, gave them free Entrance; neither were they wanting in their Assistance to them with a seeming Chearfulness and Sedulity in every Thing they were ordered; which Obsequiousness, and unexpected Entertainment, was a new Stratagem of the *Mexicans*, that their Enemies might come less prepared to the Snare which they had provided for them. These Villagers freely shewed their Stores of Provision, and from other neighbouring Villages procured what was sufficient to make the fatigued *Spaniards* forget their past Sufferings. Early in the Morning the Army was already disposed to ascend the Mountain, which, on the other Side, declined into the Valley of *Otumba*, thro' which they must of Necessity pass to take the Road that leads to *Tlascala*. They observed some Alteration in the *Indians* who followed their March; for their Shouts and Scoffs expressed rather a joyful Satisfaction than Indignation: And *Donna Marina* took Notice, that they frequently said, *go on, Tyrants! go on; for you will quickly arrive at the Place where you will all perish.* These Expressions gave them Occasion to reflect; for those Words were too often repeated not to import something particular. Some began to doubt, that these *Indians*, confiding in the *Tlascalans*, rejoiced at the Danger to which the *Spaniards* were marching, as having received some Notice that there had happened a Change in the Fidelity or Affection of that Nation. But *Cortes*, and those of better Judgment and Penetration, looked upon this Novelty as no other than a Token of some Ambush that was then nearer than *Tlascala*; for there wanted not Examples of the Simplicity and Easiness with which the *Indians* were wont to publish the very Thing which they endeavoured to conceal.

THEY

THEY continued their March, forwarned now, and their Minds disposed for entering upon fresh Action; when the advanced Guard, having reach'd the Mountain Top, came back with an Account, that the Enemy had possessed themselves of all the Valley, barring up the Passage to the Road whither they were directing their Course with a most formidable Multitude. It was the same Body of *Mexicans* which they had left at the first Temple, reinforced with new Troops, and other Commanders. They discovered in the Morning, as may be presum'd by the succeeding Circumstances, the sudden Retreat of the *Spaniards*; and notwithstanding they did not doubt but that they should be able to overtake them, yet they feared, very considerably, by the Experience of that Night, that it would not be possible to do so before they reach'd the *Tlascalan* Territory: they went on securing the advantageous Posts of the Mountains: For which Reason they sent Dispatches to *Mexico* for Re-inforcement, that an Affair of so much Importance might not miscarry for want of necessary Force; which Proposal was so well received in the City that all the Nobility instantly set out, followed by the rest of the Troops which they had assembled, to join the Army; and in the small Space of Three or Four Days they divided themselves by different Roads, marching under Shelter of the Mountains with such Expedition, that they got before the *Spaniards*, and filled the whole Valley of *Otumba*, which was a very spacious Plain, where they might, undiscovered, wait for the *Spaniards* their Enemies, and attack them without embarrassing each other for want of Room. A Project well concerted, and as well executed; and which might be envied by Leaders of greater

Experience, and People better disciplined and less barbarous.

UPON the first Intelligence it was not suspected that they were the *Mexicans*; but on the contrary, the *Spaniards* believed, as they were going up the Hill, that the dispersed Troops had united themselves in order to defend some Pass; but upon gaining the Summit, they discovered a very powerful Army, and in much better Order than any they had seen before, whose Front took up the whole Breadth of the Valley, whose Depth the Eye could not reach, and which was the last Effort of the *Mexican* Power, composed of various Nations, as the Diversity of the several Colours and Standards denoted. The Captain-General of the Empire was distinguished in the Centre of the Multitude, born up upon Men's Shoulders, in a Litter most sumptuously adorned, in such Manner, that being a Witness of every one's Behaviour, his Orders might be punctually executed. Upon his Chair or Litter, stood erected the Royal Standard of *Mexico*, which was not intrusted to any other Hand but his, and could only be brought into the Field in Cases of the greatest Exigence and Importance. The Form of this Standard was a Net of Massy Gold, hanging on a Pike, and crown'd with a Plume of Feathers of various Colours, both the one and the other mysteriously denoting a Superiority above the rest of Hieroglyphicks of the lesser Ensigns. The wavering and confused Motion of such different Arms and Feathers appeared beautiful amidst so many Objects of Horror.

THE *Spanish* Army perceiving the fresh Danger for which they were to prepare their Minds and Arms, *Cortes* began to examine the Countenances of his People with that natural Fire in his Look, which

which influenced their Hearts far better than Words; and finding them rather inspired with a generous Resentment, than struck with Fear, " Our Cause is now such, said he, that we must either die or conquer: The Cause of our God fights for us." Nor had he Time to say any more; for the Soldiers themselves interrupted him, crying out for the Word of Command, in order to engage; upon which he only stay'd to give them some few necessary Precautions, such as the present Occasion required; and, as he was accustomed, invoking St. *James*, and St. *Peter*, he advanc'd with his Front extended, and united the Body of the Army with the Wings of the Horse, who were appointed to defend the Flanks, and secure the Rear. The Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows made their first Discharges so opportunely, that the Enemy had scarce Time to make Use of their missive Weapons. The Swords and Lances did still greater Damage, the Horse taking Care, at the same Time, to break and to put to Flight those Troops which endeavour'd to inclose the Army. They gained some Ground by this first Charge. The *Spaniards* gave no Stroke without a Wound, nor any Wound which needed a second Blow. The *Tlascalans* threw themselves into the thickest of the Battle, with an insatiable Thirst after *Mexican* Blood; and all had such Command of their Passions, that they killed with Choice; first seeking out those who appeared to be Leaders. But the *Mexicans* fought with great Obstinacy, advancing, tho' not with the best Order, yet with surprizing Resolution to supply the Places of those who fell; and the *Spaniards* were fatigued with the Slaughter of them, for the Battle was continually renewing with fresh Men. Their whole Army seem'd to give Way whenever the Cavalry charged them, or the Fire-Arms advanced;

advanced; but they returned with new Vigour to recover their lost Ground, the Multitude moving from Place to Place with such Celerity, that the whole Field appeared like a stormy Sea of Men; the perpetual Flux and Reflux seeming to authorize that Simile.

CORTES fought on Horseback, continually relieving, with his Troop, where the greatest Stress lay, carrying Death and Terror upon the Point of his Lance, wheresoever he came: But the obstinate Resistance of the *Indians* gave him no small Concern; for it was not possibly to be hoped, but that the Strength of his Men must abate with such unintermitting Action; and reflecting upon the Measures he might take to advantage himself, or to make his Way to the Road, he was relieved in this Perplexity by one of those Observations which he was accustomed to lay up in his Mind to make Use of upon Occasion. He remembered to have heard among the *Mexicans*, that the whole Fortune of their Battles depended upon the Standard Royal, the gaining or losing of which decided the Fortune of the Day on either Side: And being not insensible into what Disorder and Confusion the Enemy was always put by the Charge of the Cavalry, he took a Resolution to make an extraordinary Effort for the gaining of the Imperial Standard, which he could very well distinguish. To this Effect he called for the Captains *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Christoval de Olid*, and *Alonzo Davila*, to follow and secure his Rear, together with the rest of the Horse which generally attended him. Having encouraged them with a short Harangue, and given the necessary Instructions how they were to proceed, he advanced with little more than half Speed, and attacked on that Part which appeared weakest, and least distant from the Centre. The

Indians

Indians gave back, dreading, as they always did, the Shock of the Cavalry; and before they could recover themselves to make a second Motion, the *Spaniards* threw themselves upon the confused and disordered Multitude with such Vigour, and in such good Order, that breaking and treading under Foot whole Battalions, they, without much Opposition, arrived at the Place where the Imperial Standard was defended by the Band of Nobles who were appointed for its Guard: And while the Captains were dispersing that numerous Guard, *Cortes* spurred on his Horse, and closed with the Captain-General of the *Mexicans*, who, at the first Stroke of his Lance, fell, being dangerously wounded, on the other Side of his Litter. He was soon forsaken by his Guard, and left almost alone, when *Juan de Salamanca*, a private Gentleman, leaped from his Horse, put an End to the little Life he had left, and seizing the Standard, gave it into the Hands of *Cortes*. This *Juan de Salamanca* was a Person of some Distinction in the Army, and for having, upon that Occasion, done his General such a Piece of Service, the Emperor conferred some Favours upon him, giving him for the Crest of his Arms the Plume of Feathers which crowned the *Mexican* Standard.

SCARCE did these *Barbarians* behold the Imperial Standard in the Power of the *Spaniards*, when they struck all the rest of their Colours; and throwing down their Arms, they betook themselves to a precipitate Flight, seeking for Shelter in the adjacent Woods and Fields of *Maiz*. The neighbouring Mountains were all covered with the terrified Remnants of the *Mexican* Army; and in a few Moments the Field of Battle remained to the victorious *Spaniards*, who pursued their Victory with

with all the Rigour of War, and made a most terrible Destruction of the Fugitives. It was absolutely necessary to ruin and disperse them, that they might not return to unite again: Anger and Resentment urged what Conveniency dictated. On our Side some were wounded, of which Number Two or Three *Spaniards* died at *Tlascala*; and *Cortes* himself received a Blow on his Head with a Stone, so violent that it battered his Head-piece, and made a small Fraction in his Skull; but the Hurt done by the Contusion was still greater. The Spoil was given to the Soldiers, which was very considerable; for the *Mexicans* came provided with costly Jewels and Ornaments, as to an assured Triumph. The History says, That Twenty thousand *Indians* lost their Lives in this Battle. Matters, upon such Occasions, are generally stretched; but whoever will believe that the routed Army consisted of above Two hundred thousand Men, will find less Improbability in the Greatness of the former Number. All Writers, as well Strangers as those of our own Nation, relate this Victory as one of the greatest that was obtained in the Two *America's*. And if it were certain, St. *James* the Apostle fought visibly for the *Spaniards*, as some Prisoners affirmed, the Slaughter of those People would appear more credible, or less surprizing, although, in Truth, it was not necessary to have Recourse to a visible Miracle, where there appeared so many Evidences of the immediate Hand of God; to whose Power the Successes of Armies ought ever to be attributed, with especial Consideration, since He has proclaimed himself to be the Lord of Hosts; that Mortals may be sensible that it behoves them to hope for Victory at his Divine Hands, and to acknowledge it to be only

only at his Heavenly Disposal, without making any Account of their own Strength, tho' ever so great: For sometimes he chastises Injustice by assisting the less powerful; neither should any offer to confide in the Goodness of their Cause; for at other Times he corrects those whom he most favours, giving the Charge of the Stroke to an impious and unworthy Hand.

The END of the FOURTH BOOK.

THE

THE
HISTORY

Of the CONQUEST of
MEXICO, or NEW SPAIN.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The Army marches into the Province of Tlascalala, and quarters in Gualipar; the Caziques and Senators come to visit Cortes: They celebrate his Entry into their City with publick Rejoicings; and Cortes, by fresh Experience, finds he had secured the Affections of those People.

CORTES gave Orders for assembling his Troops, which were scattered up and down for the Sake of pillaging. The Soldiers took their Posts, and pursued their March, not without Suspicion of the Enemy's rallying; for they observed

observed several Bodies of Men on the Tops of the Mountains; But it being impossible that Day to get clear of the *Mexican* Confines, and withal necessary to take Care of the Wounded, they possessed themselves of some Houses, where they passed the Night, as in a Place of no great Security, and the next Day they found the Roads free from Enemies, the neighbouring Plains securing them from all Danger of Ambuscades: However, they still perceived Signs of their being in an Enemy's Country, by the Cries and distant Menaces of the *Mexicans*, who after that manner took leave of those they could not stop.

A little after, they discovered and entered the Bounds of *Tlascala*, known to this Day by some Remains of that famous Wall, which was built by the ancient Inhabitants to defend the Frontiers of their Country, joining together the Hills that bordered it, in all those Places which Nature had not made inaccessible. The whole Army express'd their Joy by Acclamations, upon their entering the Territories of this Republick. The *Tlascalans* threw themselves upon their Faces to kiss the Earth, like disconsolate Children returned to the Lap of their Mother. The *Spaniards* made their thankful Acknowledgments to Heaven for this Repose after so many Fatigues, and they all lay down near a Fountain, whose Water at that Time gained the Reputation of being delicate and wholesome, from the Praises the *Spaniards* gave it, which have been particularly mentioned by several Writers; whether it were that their violent Thirst made it seem the more refreshing, or that they could now allay it in Peace and Security.

In this Place *Hernan Cortes* made a short Discourse, telling them "of what Importance it was
"to preserve the Friendship of the *Tlascalans*, by
their

“ their Kindness and Civility ; and that, when they
“ came into the City, they should look upon the
“ giving Offence to any one Inhabitant, as a Mat-
“ ter that might endanger their common Safety.”
He afterwards resolved to stop by the Way to
gain Intelligence, and dispose Matters for his Entry
with the Knowledge and Permission of the Senate;
and accordingly, at Noon he halted at *Gualipar*, a
considerable Town in those Days. The Inhabitants
met them at some Distance, to shew their Good-
will, offering their Houses, and whatever else they
had Occasion for, with so much Respect and Sub-
mission, that the most Jealous acknowledged there
could be no room to suspect a People of Artifice,
who gave such Proofs of their Sincerity. *Cortes*
accepted the Invitation, and quartered his Soldiers
with all the Caution that was necessary to be per-
fectly secure.

His first Care after this was to send two *Tlascalans* with an Account to the Senate of his Retreat and Success: But Fame had already carried the News of his Victory ; and almost at the same Time came his great Friend *Magiscatzin*, the blind *Xicotencal*, with his Son and others, to visit him on the part of the Republick. *Magiscatzin* advanced before the rest, casting himself into his Arms, and then stepping back, that he might behold and admire him, as one that scarce believed he had the Happiness to see him alive. The blind *Xicotencal*, guided by the Sound, made his Way with his Hands, expressing his Affection after a more tender manner ; for having informed himself by the Touch, he shewed his Satisfaction by a Flood of Tears, the only way by which his Eyes could testify his Joy. The rest came after, whilst the first went to congratulate the Captains and Soldiers of their Acquaintance. On this Occasion, *Xicotencal*

cal the Younger distinguished himself, by appearing somewhat dissatisfied, and reserved in his Compliments; and altho' it was attributed at that Time to the Ruggedness of a military Man, it soon appeared that he preserved in his Mind the Distrust of a reconciled Friend, and the ungrateful Remembrance of having been conquered. *Hernan Cortes* went aside with the Senators and found in their Conversation and Behaviour all the Delicacy of Manners, which could have been expected from a People of the greatest Politeness. They informed him, that they had already got together their Troops to succour him against the common Enemy, and were ready to march with thirty thousand Men to secure his Retreat. They expressed a great Concern for his Wounds, looking on them as so many Sacrileges committed in that seditious War. They regretted the Death of the *Spaniards*, and particularly of *Juan Velasquez de Leon*, whom they loved, as being sensible of his good Qualities. They condemned the barbarous Conspiracy of the *Mexicans*; and, lastly, offered to assist him in his Revenge with all their Forces, and those of their Allies; adding, That they were now not only Friends of the *Spaniards*, but likewise Vassals of their King, and so were doubly obliged to obey his Minister's Orders, and die by his Side. And after this manner they concluded their Discourse, nicely distinguishing betwixt the two Obligations of Friendship and Vassalage, and declaring themselves bound by Loyalty, to what they were before engaged by Inclination. *Cortes* made great Acknowledgments for their Offers; and by all that could be gathered from their Discourse, they not only retain'd their Good-will for the *Spaniards*, but had improved it into an Esteem: For the Loss they sustained at their marching out of *Mexico*, was looked on as

an Accident of War, and was wholly effaced by the Victory of *Otumba*, which was admired in *Tlascal* as a Prodigy of Valour, and the chief Glory of the Retreat. They proposed, that he should immediately go to the City, where his Quarters were provided; nevertheless they readily consented to allow the *Spaniards* some Time to refresh themselves, because they were desirous to prepare for his Entry, which they determined to honour with publick Solemnity, and to celebrate after the same manner they did the Triumphs of their own Generals.

THE Army continued three Days in *Gualipar*, being liberally supplied with every thing that was necessary, at the Charge of the Republick. After which, the Wounded being somewhat recovered, *Cortes* gave Notice to the City, and prepared to march. The *Spaniards* put on all their Finery that Day, adorning themselves with the Jewels and Plumes of the vanquished *Mexicans*; an outward Shew which declared the Importance of the Victory: For, on some Occasions, Ostentation gives Credit to a Cause, and Modesty is unseasonable. The *Caziques* and Ministers of State, in Form of a Senate, clad in their richest Robes, and accompanied by a numerous Attendance of their Relations, came out to receive the Army. The Roads were covered with People, the Air was filled with Acclamations of popular Applause, and nothing was heard but the Praises of the Victors, and Reproaches upon the *Mexicans*. At their Entrance into the City, they were entertained with the Sounds of Kettle-Drums, Flutes, and Winding-Horns, distributed into different Choirs, which alternately succeeded each other, making a pacifick Musick with their warlike Instruments. The Troops being conveniently quartered, *Cortes* consented, after much Resistance, to lodge with *Magiscatzin*
giving

giving way to his earnest Intreaties, that he might not disoblige him. And for the same Reason, *Pedro de Alvarado* went with old *Xicotencal*; but altho' the rest of the Caziques were desirous to entertain the other Captains, they courteously declined it, it being improper to leave the Main Guard without a sufficient Number of Officers. The *Spaniards* made their Entry into *Tlascala* in the Month of *July 1520.* altho' in this Point Writers are not intirely agreed: But I shall reserve my Discussions for Matters of more Consequence, and where a small Variation is of great Importance.

THE same Evening they began their Festival of the Triumph, which continued for some Days, the *Indians* all employing their utmost Address to divert their Cuests, and celebrate their Victory, without excepting the Nobles, or those who had lost Friends and Relations in the Engagement; whether it were that they desired to take part in the general Joy, or that it was not permitted in this warlike Nation to esteem the End of those unfortunate, who died in Battle. They gave Challenges, and Rewards were assigned for the best Marks-men. They contended likewise in the Exercises of Leaping and Running; the Evenings were spent in the Diversion of Rope-Dancing; an Exercise they were very fond of, and where the Mind of the Spectator is divided betwixt Fear and Pleasure. But the Shew always ended with Balls, and certain Dances in Masquerade; the Diversion of the Multitude, whose disorderly, noisy Mirth finished the Demonstrations of their Applause.

THE Sincerity and good Correspondence of these People answered all the Hopes of *Cortes.* The Nobles were friendly and respectful, and the common People passionately fond, and submissively obedient. *Cortes* expressed a grateful Sense of their Affection

Affection for him, commended their Diversions, caressing some, and honouring others with equal Confidence and Satisfaction. The Captains assisted him in the gaining of Friends by their Courtesy and Presents; and even the meanest Soldiers endeavoured to make themselves lov'd, by sharing generously with the *Tlascalans* the Jewels, and Spoils they had brought from the Battle. But in the Spring-time (as I may say) of this Felicity, an Accident happened which gave a Damp to all their Joy. For the Wound which *Cortes* had received in his Head, and which was ill cured, appeared afresh with bad Symptoms; and the over-much Exercise he had used on these Days of Rejoicing, occasioned an Inflammation in his Brain, with a strong Fever, which reduced him to such a Condition, that his Life was thought to be in Danger.

THE *Spaniards* looked on this unhappy Accident, as what threatened no less than the Loss of their Lives and Fortunes; but the Concern of the *Indians* was more remarkable, as being less expected; for they no sooner heard of his Illness, but laying aside all their Mirth, they fell into the other Extreme of an inconsolable Grief. The Nobles, full of Anxiety and Sorrow, were continually enquiring after the *Teule*, a Name which we have before observed they gave to their Demigods, or almost Deities. The common People came in Troops to bewail his Loss, so that the *Spaniards* were obliged to deceive them with the Hopes of his mending, in order to keep them at a Distance, that they might not disturb *Cortes* with their Cries and Lamentations. The Senate sent for all the best Physicians of their Country, whose Skill consisted in the Knowledge and Choice of Medicinal Herbs, which they applied with a wonderful Discernment of their Virtues and Effects, varying the Medicine according

according to the Condition and different Turns of the Distemper; and to them he was entirely beholden for his Cure: For making use at first of wholesome cooling Simples, to correct the Inflammation, and mitigate the Pain, which occasioned the Fever, they proceeded, by degrees, to apply others proper to ripen and heal the Wound, with so much Skill and good Fortune, that in a little time, they restored him to his perfect Health.

LET the rational Physician laugh at Empiricks; 'tis certain, however, that the first Knowledge of Physick was from Experience; and in a Country entirely unacquainted with Natural Philosophy, which searches out Causes by Effects, it was no small Matter to find so great a Progress made in the Knowledge of Nature. The News of his Recovery was celebrated with fresh Rejoicings, and *Hernan Cortes* had further Experience of the Affections of the *Tlascalans*: And his Head being now at liberty for Thought, he resumed his high Designs, forming new Plans to avoid the Inconveniences, and remove the Difficulties which attended his Undertaking; an inward War of Objections and Solutions, the End of which was to reconcile Prudence with Magnanimity.

C H A P. II.

An Account comes that the Province of Tepeaca had taken up Arms. Embassadors arrive at Tlascala from Mexico. A Conspiracy, carried on by Xicotencal the Younger, against the Spaniards, is discovered.

HERNAN CORTES was in Pain to know the Condition of Affairs at *Vera Cruz*, the Preservation of that Place being the principal Basis and Foundation of his new Projects. He wrote immediately to *Rodrigo Rangel*, whom he had appointed Lieutenant in that Government, under *Gonzalo de Sandoval*; and quickly received an Answer by the extraordinary Diligence of the Couriers of that Country, importing, That nothing new had happened either in the Garrison, or on the Coast, to give him any Concern: That *Narvaez* and *Salvatierra* were in safe Custody; and that the Soldiers were pleased, and kindly treated; the *Zempoalans*, *Totonaques*, and other Confederate Nations, adhering, with great Fidelity and Friendship, to the Terms of their Alliance.

But at the same time he acquainted him, that the Corporal and eight Soldiers, who went to *Tlascala* for the Gold belonging to the Garrison, were not returned; and that if the Report, current among the *Indians*, was true, of their having been murdered in the Province of *Tepeaca*, it was to be feared, that the wounded Soldiers of *Narvaez*, who remained behind in *Zempoala*, had met with the same Fate; for as fast as they recovered, they marched away in little Troops, being extremely desirous

desirous to arrive at *Mexico*, which they considered as the Centre of all their Wealth and Prosperity.

THIS Misfortune much afflicted *Cortes*, because he had reckoned upon the Reinforcement of those Soldiers, whose Number, according to *Antonio de Herrera*, amounted to above fifty; and allowing it less, as *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* writes, yet was the Loss very great upon this Occasion, and in a Country where one *Spaniard* was of more Value than a thousand *Indians*. Upon this *Cortes* enquired amongst his *Tlascalan* Friends, who confirmed the Report of *Rangel*; and said they had concealed it from him, lest such bad News might have been a Hindrance to his Recovery.

It is most certain, that the eight Soldiers who went from *Vera-Cruz*, arrived at *Tlascala*, and left again that Place, in order to return with their Share of the Gold, at a time when they began to suspect the Fidelity of the Province of *Tepeaca*, which, with several others, had submitted in the first March to *Mexico*; and that both the one and the other Party had been massacred by the People of that Province, appeared afterwards very evidently, by their calling in the *Mexican* Troops to support their Treason; which made it absolutely necessary to subdue those Rebels, and drive the Enemy to a greater Distance. Nor did this Design admit of any Delay, because the Situation of that Province cut off the Communication between *Mexico* and *Vera-Cruz*; and it was necessary to open that Passage, before they could undertake any thing of Importance: Nevertheless *Hernan Cortes* deferred to ask of the Republick the Assistance of their Forces; because he was informed at the same time, that the *Tepeacans* had some Days before made an Inroad into the Country of *Tlascala*, plundering, and destroying some Settlements on the Frontiers; and

he made no Question, but the *Tlascalans* would apply themselves to him, as it shortly after happened: For the Senate came to a Resolution to chaſtiſe the Insolence of that Nation, and to endeavour intereſting the *Spaniards* in the War, as equally exaſperated and injured by the Death of their Companions. The Affair took the Turn that *Cortes* wiſhed; and he ſo managed Matters, as to grant what he was under a Neceſſity of aſking.

THERE happened afterwards another Accident, which gave the *Spaniards* freſh Diſquiet: For there came Advice from *Gualipar*, that three or four Ambaſſadors, ſent by the new Emperor of *Mexico*, to the Republick of *Tlaſcala*, were arrived on the Frontiers, where they ſtayed, expecting Leave to proceed to the City. The *Tlascalans* deliberated upon the Matter with ſome Admiration, and without being ignorant that the Negotiations of a powerful Enemy, were to be regarded as diſguiſed Menaces: But tho' they verily believed the Embaſſy was deſigned againſt the *Spaniards*, and were fully reſolved, not to forſake the Defence of their Friends on any account, they decreed to admit the Ambaſſadors; that at leaſt they might have the Advantage ariſing from this Acknowledgment of their Equality; a Condeſcenſion very unuſual, and little agreeing with the Pride of the *Mexican* Princes. And it is thought, that the Senate came to this Reſolution with the Approbation of *Cortes*; for the Ambaſſadors were conducted publickly to their Audience: And throughout this whole Tranſaction, there was not the leaſt Pretence to ſuſpect the Sincerity of the *Tlascalans*.

THE Entry was made with great Solemnity and Splendor; the *Tamenes*, in good Order, went at the Head of the Proceſſion, with the Preſents, conſiſting of ſome Pieces of Gold and Silver, fine Cotton

Cotton Cloths, Plumes, and other Curiosities, with several Loads of Salt, a Merchandize very much prized and coveted in those Parts. The Ambassadors carried the Ensigns of Peace in their Hands, and were richly adorned with Jewels, and accompanied by a numerous Train of Friends and Servants; wherein they imagined, that they displayed the Grandeur of their Prince: And sometimes indeed, a vain Ostentation of Power is of Use in an Embassy; and by dazling or diverting the Eye, makes it easier to impose on the Ear. The Senate received them at their Tribunal, and were neither deficient nor excessive in point of Ceremony; being jealous of the Rights belonging to their Sovereignty, and but ill concealing their Disgust, under the Appearance of Civility.

AFTER naming the Emperor of *Mexico*, with Ceremonies of profound Submission, the Ambassadors made "an Offer of Peace, and perpetual Alliance, between the two Nations, Freedom of Commerce, and Community of Interests, on Condition they would immediately make War upon the *Spaniards*; and, taking Advantage of their Security, destroy them at once." But they could not proceed in their Discourse, being interrupted first by a confused Murmur, occasioned by the Senate's disapproving what they said; and afterwards by a greater Noise, their Displeasure breaking out into disorderly and inconsiderate Expressions.

BUT one of the antient Senators represented to them the Indecency of this Procedure, contrary to Custom and Reason; and obtained, that the Ambassadors should retire to their Lodging, and there expect the Resolution of the Republick: Which being done, they conferred among themselves, and without staying to put it to the Vote, they all agreed
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in what some had already declared thro' Inadvertency, though they softened the Expressions of their Refusal, and Anger gave way to Civility. They concluded to send three or four Deputies with the Senate's Answer to the Ambassadors; which contained in Substance, "That the Republick would admit the Peace with all possible Respect, provided the Conditions were reasonable, and consistent with the Interest and Honour of both Nations: But that the *Tlascalans* were religious Observers of the Laws of Hospitality, and were not us'd to betray those who confided in them; that they valued themselves upon accounting that impossible which was unlawful, and upon speaking the Truth without Disguise; not understanding the Use of false Pretences, or how to palliate Treason by giving it some other Name." But the Ambassadors did not stay long enough to receive this Answer; for, finding their Proposition so ill received, they immediately made off; and the Haste and Fear wherewith they retired, were equal to the Gravity of their Entry. And it was not thought proper to stop them; for it being reported in *Tlascala*, that they came to solicit a War against the *Spaniards*, there was Reason to apprehend some popular Insurrection, which might break thro' the Privileges of Ambassadors; and the Respect due to the Senate.

THOUGH this Design of the *Mexicans* was defeated to the great Satisfaction of the *Spaniards*, it was attended with an Inconveniency, which created a farther Uneasiness: For *Xicotencal* the younger, concealed his Opinion in the Senate, voting with the rest, either because he was afraid of the Displeasure of some of his Friends, or out of Respect to his Father; nevertheless this Embassy gave him a Handle, to scatter among his Friends and Followers,

Followers, the Poïson which abounded in his Heart, making use of this Peace proposed by the *Mexicans*; not that it was his Inclination, or Interest, but to cover the Scandal of his Envy and evil Designs, with a specious Pretence. “The *Mexican* Emperor, said he, whose formidable Power obliges us always to be in Arms, engaged in the perpetual Misfortune of a defensive War, offers us his Friendship, without any other Condition, than the Death of the *Spaniards*; in which he only proposes, what we ought to execute ourselves for our own Interest and Preservation: For tho’ we should forgive these Strangers their Intention to destroy our Religion, can it be denied, that they endeavour to change our very Laws and Form of Government, by converting into a Monarchy this venerable Republick of the *Tlascalans*; and reducing us under the detestable Dominion of an Emperor; a Yoke so heavy and oppressive, that it grieves us to see it, even upon the Necks of our Enemies?” He wanted no Eloquence to set off his Opinion, nor Resolution to execute his Designs: And though some of his Friends endeavoured to dissuade him from entertaining such Thoughts; yet, as he had the Reputation of a good Soldier, it was very much to be feared, that he would engage a formidable Party in a Country where Courage was esteemed a Mark of Reason: But their Love of the *Spaniards* was so fixed in their Hearts, that he gained but few, and the Matter was discovered to the Magistrates. It was debated in the Senate with all the Seriousness that an Affair of so much Importance required; and *Xicotencal*, the Father, was summoned to the Conference, nor did the Delinquent’s near Relation to him, make them in the least suspect his Constancy, or his Justice.

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THEY all condemned him as a seditious Person, who endeavoured to disturb the publick Peace, disgrace the Resolutions of the Senate, and destroy the Credit of his Nation. Some were inclined to punish his Crime with Death; and his Father was one of those who most strenuously promoted that Sentence, condemning the Treason of his Son, like an unbiaſſed Judge, and true Father of his Country.

THE honourable Conſtancy, of this blind old Man, ſo wrought on the Minds of the Senators, that out of Regard to him, they mitigated the Rigour of the Sentence, and concluded on a milder Punishment; for they ordered him to be brought Priſoner to the Senate, and after reprimanding his Insolence with the utmoſt Severity, they took from him the General's Staff, and deprived him of his Command in the Army, and all Privileges belonging to it, by the Ceremony of ſlinging him down the Stairs of the Tribunal. The Ignominy of this Degradation obliged him, in few Days, to apply himſelf with all the Demonſtrations of a true Reconciliation, to *Cortes*, at whose Interceſſion he was reſtored to his Honours, and the Favour of his Father; tho', after ſome little time, the Root of his wicked Intentions began to ſprout out a ſecond time in freſh Diſorders, which coſt him his Life; as we ſhall ſee in the proper Place. Each of theſe Accidents might have produced fatal Conſequences, but the Perſidy of *Xicotencal* did not come to the Knowledge of *Cortes*, till the bad Effects of it were prevented, and the Crime puniſhed; and the ill Succeſs of the *Mexican* Ambaſſadors, gave Satisfaction to the moſt diſtruſtful: Both Adventures affording new Proofs of the Fidelity of the *Tlaſcalans*; which in a People ſo little civilized, and when the *Spaniards* were at that Diſtance from all human

human Means to support themselves, may pass for a Miracle; at least it was then looked upon as an Effect which could not be accounted for by inferior Causes.

C H A P. III.

Cortes marches into the Province of Tepeaca, where he defeats the Rebels; who, supported by the Mexicans, offered Battle to the Spaniards: He, afterwards, takes their City, which he fortifies, and calls by the Name of Segura de la Frontera.

WHILST young *Xicotencal* was, with great Satisfaction, assembling the Troops of the Republick, for the War of *Tepeaca*, and endeavouring, by his extraordinary Diligence, to blot out the Remembrance of his Treachery, *Cortes* was employed in convincing his own People of the Necessity they lay under of chastizing the *Indians* of *Tepeaca*; representing to them, the Rebellion of those Traytors, and the Death of so many *Spaniards*; with what other Motives could incite them to Compassion and Revenge. But they did not all agree in the Necessity of this Expedition, and more especially, the Troops of *Narvaez* very strenuously opposed it: The Remembrance of their past Fatigues, made them ardently desire Repose, and sigh after their Possessions in the Isle of *Cuba*, exclaiming against the War as unprofitable, and insisting upon the Return of the Army to *Vera-Cruz*, in order to solicit Reinforcements from *Santo Domingo* and *Jamaica*, and resume their Enterprize with less Danger;

Danger: not that they had any such Design in Reality, but desired only to get nearer to the Sea, where they imagined their Clamours and Disobedience would be better supported; and they carried their Boldness so far, as to give the General a Protestation in Form, containing Motives rather insolent than substantial, and where the Pretence of the publick Good, and the Service of the King, served as a Cover to their Fear and Baseness.

CORTES was the more sensibly concerned at their Insolence, as happening at a time when his Enemies at *Tepeaca* had possessed themselves of the Road to *Vera-Cruz*, which it was impossible to pass, without making that War, which the Mutineers refused. He ordered them to be assembled, and stood in Need of all his Moderation, to keep within Bounds upon this Occasion. It is difficult for a Man of a generous Spirit to dissemble a personal Injury; but where Reason itself is outraged by Caprice or Brutality, it is the utmost Trial of Patience in a Man of Sense.

He thanked them, as well as he could, for the Care they took of the Preservation of the Army, and without losing time, with laying before them the Reasons which obliged them not to fail in their Engagements to the *Tlascalans*, hazarding the Loss of their Friendship, and leaving the Treason of the *Tepeacans* unpunished; he made use of Motives, proportioned to the Capacities of Men, who were not to be affected by those which were more convincing; and only told them, "That as the Enemy
" had seized the Passes of the Mountains, they
" could not avoid engaging with them before they
" recovered the Plain: That to go alone upon this
" Expedition, would be the Loss of the Army, or at
" least, would hazard it without any manner of
" Reason: That there was no demanding Succour
" from

“ from the *Tlascalans*, nor would they give any to
“ make good a Retreat undertaken contrary to
“ their Inclination; but, promising them, upon
“ his Word of Honour, that after the rebellious
“ Province was subdued, and the Passage of the
“ Road open (in order to which, the Republick
“ would assist with all their Forces) all, who were
“ not willing to follow his Fortune, should have
“ free Liberty to depart.” Thus he induced them
to serve in this War, by letting them know, they
were not in a Condition to form any other Designs:
Upon this, he immediately gave Orders for the
Expedition of *Tepeaca*, and, for the present, quiet-
ed the Mutineers.

CORTES drew out eight Thousand choice *Tlascalans*, divided into Troops according to their Custom, commanded by Captains, of whose Valour he had made Proof in his Engagements with the *Mexicans*, and left to his new Friend, *Xicotencal*, the Care of bringing up the rest of the *Tlascalan* Forces. After having drawn up his Men, he numbered four hundred and twenty *Spaniards*, including the Officers, and seventeen Horse. The Foot, for the most part, were armed with Pikes, Swords, and Targets, some Cross-Bows, and a few Fire-Arms; for the want of Powder obliged them to leave the rest with *Magiscatzin*. The Army marched with the Acclamations of the People; the *Tlascalan* Soldiers shewed a Chearfulness which presaged Victory, and were all inspired with the Desire of Revenge. They halted that Day in a Village of the Enemy's, three Leagues from *Tlascala*, and five from *Tepeaca*, the capital Town, which gave the Name to the Province. On the first Sight of the Army, the Inhabitants of the Village fled, and the advanced Guard could only take six or seven Peasants, who met with good Treatment that Night
among

among the *Spaniards*, much against the Will of the *Tlascalans*, who would have given them a different Entertainment. In the Morning the General ordered them to be brought before him, and encouraging them by some Presents, set them at Liberty, ordering them, for the Good of their Country, to acquaint the *Caziques* and principal Men of *Tepeaca*, *That he was come with an Army to revenge the Death of those Spaniards, whom they had so treacherously killed; as likewise their Revolt, contrary to the Obedience they had sworn to the King; but that, nevertheless, if they would take up Arms against the Mexicans, in which they should be assisted both by the Spaniards and Tlascalans, he would grant a general Pardon, and receive them into his Friendship, freeing them from the Misfortunes of a War which justly threatened them, and in which he should be obliged to treat them with the utmost Rigour.*

THE *Indians* departed with this Message, and some friendly Assurances which *Marina* and *Aguilar* gave them, encouraging them to return without any Fear, tho' the Proposals of Peace should be rejected; and accordingly they returned the next Day accompanied by two *Mexicans*, who came in the Nature of Spies, lest the *Tepeacans* should make any Alteration in the Expressions of their Refusal, which was rude and insolent, viz. "That they did not desire Peace, and would not long delay to take the Field in Search of their Enemies, whom they would carry bound to the Altars of their Gods." To which they added other injurious Terms and Threats, as People who depended upon the Numbers of their Troops. But *Cortes*, not satisfied with this Answer, made them a second Offer for his greater Justification; wherein he protested, "That if they did not accept the Conditions he proposed, he would destroy them with

" Fire

“ Fire and Sword as Traytors to the King, and all
 “ who survived should be Slaves to the Conque-
 “ rors.” This the Interpreters notified to the En-
 voys, and also gave them a Copy of the same in
 Writing; not that they could read it, but that so
 severe a Message committed to Paper, might re-
 double their Fear: For, as they greatly wondered
 at the Mystery of Writing, and thought it alto-
 gether supernatural for the *Spaniards* to talk and
 understand each other at a Distance, *Cortes* had a
 Mind to strike the Eye with that which so much
 surprized them, and to give them Terror by the
 Way of Wonder. But this Artifice served to little
 Purpose; for the second Answer was more insolent
 than the first, and at the same time came an Ac-
 count, that the Enemy’s Army was marching with
 great Diligence. *Hernan Cortes* resolved to meet
 them, and so soon as he had put his Men in order,
 began his March without staying either to instruct
 or animate them; for the *Spaniards* were well ac-
 quainted with the *Indian* manner of Fighting, and
 the *Tlascalans* were so desirous to engage, that the
 greatest Difficulty was to hinder them from falling
 on.

THE Enemy lay in Ambush in some Fields of
 Maiz, which grows very thick in that fertile Coun-
 try, and might have turned to their Advantage,
 had they used more Precaution; but their own
 natural Impatience discovered them at a Distance, and
 the Van-Guard sent the General an Account of it
 so seasonably, that they had Time to prepare, and
 drew near the Ambuscade in good Order, tho’
 seemingly after a careless manner.

CORTES found it necessary to extend his Bata-
 lions, in order to secure his Rear, after which he
 began the Engagement; and the *Mexicans*, who
 were placed in the Van, found themselves attacked

on all Sides just as they were preparing to cut off their Enemy's Retreat. The very first Charge put them into Confusion, and all who could not save themselves by Flight, were cut to pieces. *Cortes* continued advancing in good Order, and as the Arrows and missive Weapons of the *Indians* lost their Force among the Canes of Maiz, the *Spaniards* made a terrible Slaughter with their Swords and Pikes. The Enemies rallied, and stood a second Attack with the utmost Obstinacy; notwithstanding which, Victory quickly declared for the *Spaniards*; for the *Mexicans* gave Way, and quitted not only the Field, but the whole Country, seeking Refuge among some others of their Confederates; the *Tepeacans* followed their Example, retiring in the same Disorder, and were so intimidated, that the very same Night they sent some Deputies, and offered to surrender their City begging Quarter, and abandoning themselves to the Discretion and Clemency of the Conqueror.

In this Engagement the Enemy lost the greatest Part of their Troops, Abundance were taken Prisoners, and the Booty was very considerable. The *Tlascalans* behaved themselves valiantly, and, what was more extraordinary, were so observant of Orders, and so much better disciplined than formerly, that they only lost two or three Men. The *Spaniards* lost one Horse, and were some of them wounded, but so slightly that they did not quit their Post: The Day following, *Cortes* marched into the City, and both the Civil and Military Officers, with all the common People, presented themselves before him without Arms, appearing like Criminals, and acknowledging their Guilt both by their Looks and Silence,

WHEN they drew near, they humbled themselves before him with their Faces to the very Ground, and

and *Cortes* was obliged to encourage them, before they had the Boldness to lift up their Eyes. He ordered his Interpreters to proclaim King *Charles* with a loud Voice, and a general Pardon in his Name; which was no sooner done, than the *Indians* laid aside their Fear, and both by Words and Actions declared their Joy. The *Tlascalans* were ordered to quarter without the Town, as having been more accustomed to treat their Enemies ill, than to obey Orders. *Hernan Cortes* and the *Spaniards* lodged in the City with all the Caution that was necessary, till they were fully convinced of the Sincerity of the *Indians*; for in reality the *Mexicans* had pushed them on to murder the *Spaniards*, and afterwards to take up Arms.

THE People of *Tepeaca* were now so mortified for having put themselves a second time under the intolerable Yoke of the *Mexicans*, who, tho' they came as Friends, usurped a Power over their Estates, their Honours, and their very Lives, that they requested *Cortes* to take their City under his Protection; of which Opportunity he made use, to build a Fortrefs in the Place, in order to keep them in Obedience; but his chief View was to secure the Passage to *Vera-Cruz*, for which this Place lay very convenient, and being naturally strong, was easily made defensible by Art. They drew a Trench round the City, which they palisadoed, inclosing those Parts of the Hill where it was of easiest Access, and in the highest Part they raised a Work of some Strength like a Castle, which was esteemed a sufficient Security against any Accident that could happen in the Wars of that Country. The Work was so vigorously plyed by the Inhabitants, and their Neighbours, that they put it in a Condition of Defence in few Days. *Cortes* left there a Garrison of some *Spanish* Soldiers, calling it *Segura de la Frontera*,

and this was the second Settlement of the *Spaniards* in the *Mexican* Empire.

BUT first, that they might be the less embarrassed in this Work, they sent all their Prisoners under a strong Guard to *Tlascala*, to be sold for Slaves; a Piece of Inhumanity, which was begun in the Islands, to strike a Terror into the rebel *Indians*. We do not mention this, as if its having been practised before were any Justification of it; on the contrary, we think him who imitates a bad Action, as blameable as the Man who first set the Example.

BUT it was not long before the Emperor put a Stop to this Abuse, with a severe Reprimand, notwithstanding it was represented to him in the most favourable Light, and supported by all the Arguments that could possibly be urged, to prove Slavery among Christians lawful. It was a Point which occasioned long Disputes, but this truly religious and compassionate Prince, leaving Controversies to Divines, ordered the *Indians* to be set at Liberty, whenever the Law of Arms would permit it; that in the mean time, they should be treated as Prisoners of War, and not as Slaves. A Resolution worthy of a great King, wherein he equally displayed his Prudence and his Piety; for as it would not have consisted with good Politics to lessen the Number of his Subjects by augmenting that of his Slaves, so neither would it become the Catholick Religion, by permitting the Use of Chains and Whips, to discredit a Cause so strongly supported by Reason.

C H A P. IV.

Hernan Cortes. *sends several Captains to reduce some rebellious Towns, and goes himself to Guacachula against an Army of Mexicans drawn together to defend their Frontiers.*

THE *Spaniards* had not long taken up their Quarters in *Tepeaca*, when *Xicotencal* arrived with the rest of his Troops, which, as some say, increased the Auxiliary Army of the *Tlascalans* to Fifty thousand Men. It was necessary, in order to quiet the Minds of the *Tepeacans*, who were jealous of such a Neighbourhood, to give the Troops Employment; and *Hernan Cortes*, knowing that three or four Places of that Province supported by the *Mexicans*, held out against him, sent several Captains, attended each of them by twenty or thirty *Spaniards*, and a considerable Body of *Tlascalans*, with Orders to endeavour the Reduction of the Rebels by gentle Means, and if these proved ineffectual, to chastise their Obstinacy. They met with Resistance from all, and were obliged to make use of Force, but compassed their Design without the Loss of a Man, and the Captains returned victorious, having subjected the rebel Towns, and overthrown the *Mexicans*, who being broken and terrified, fled to the other Side of the Mountains. The Booty they gained in the Chace of their Enemies, and in the seditious Towns, was very rich and abundant in all kinds. The Prisoners exceeded the Number of the Conquerors; 'tis said they made above two Thousand in the Town of *Tecamachalco*, where the Punishment fell heavy, that being the Place where

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the *Spaniards* were murdered; and now they were no longer called Prisoners, but Captives, till being exposed to Sale, they lost that Name, and were delivered over into Personal Slavery, by receiving in their Faces the cruel Marks of a miserable Servitude.

ABOUT this Time, according to the Accounts they had some little while after, died the Emperor who succeeded *Moteczuma*, who, as we have said, was called *Quetzlavaca*, Lord of *Iztapalapa*; upon which the Electors assembled, and conferred the Investiture of the Empire on *Guatimozin*, Nephew and Son-in-law to *Moteczuma*. He was a young Man about twenty-five Years old, of so much Spirit and Vigilance, that, contrary to the manner of his Predecessor, he intirely gave himself up to the Care of the Publick, being desirous immediately to shew the Advantages of Government when placed in proper Hands. He knew what the *Spaniards* were doing in the Province of *Tepeaca*, and foreseeing the Designs they might form when assisted by the united Forces of the *Tlascalans*, and other neighbouring Provinces, he began to have those reasonable Apprehensions which are necessary to prudent Measures.

He made those Dispositions which greatly recommended the Beginnings of his Reign; he encouraged the Soldiers with Rewards and Privileges, and gained the Applause of the People, by freeing them from all Tributes so long as the War should last. He ingratiated himself with the Nobility, by admitting them into his Presence, and by moderating that Excess of Adoration to which his Predecessors Endeavoured to raise the Respect of the People. He made Presents to the Caziques on the Frontiers, exhorting them to Fidelity, and the Defence of their Governments; and that they might not

not have Reason to complain, that he left the whole Load of the War upon them, he sent an Army of thirty Thousand Men for their Support and Encouragement. But notwithstanding these Preparations of the *Mexican* Emperor, those who are envious of the Glory of our Nation, are so void of Shame, as to maintain that we engaged with Brutes, void of Reason, who only assembled to give way to the Wiles and Artifices, rather than the Courage and Constancy of the *Spaniards*.

CORTES received an Account that this Army was upon the Frontiers, which was confirmed by three or four Nobles, sent by the Cazique of *Guacachula*, a populous warlike City, situate on the Road to *Mexico*, and a Place which the new Emperor looked on as one of the Ramparts of his Empire. They came to request Succour against the *Mexicans*, complaining of their Violences and Oppressions, and offering to take up Arms against them so soon as the *Spaniards* should come within Sight of the Town. They made the Undertaking appear easy and just, saying, That their Cazique ought to be assisted as a Vassal of the King of *Spain*, being one of those who promised Obedience to him in the Assembly of the Nobility called together by the Orders of *Motezuma*. Cortes asked them, What Force the Enemy had in those Parts? They told him, twenty Thousand in the District of their City, and ten Thousand more in another City called *Yzucan*, four Leagues from them; but that in *Guacachula*, and its Dependencies, they could raise a very considerable Number of Men, courageous and provoked, who would be glad of the Opportunity to take up Arms. Cortes examined them very carefully, asking divers Questions, that he might discover the Intentions of their Cazique, and they gave so good an Account of themselves,

as fully persuaded him of their Sincerity: and tho' he should have had some remaining Suspicion, he would at that Time have dissembled it; for in case the Treaty could not have been depended on, it was nevertheless necessary to drive away the Enemy, and subject the Frontier Towns, before the *Mexicans* came with a greater Force to defend them.

CORTES applied himself so earnestly to this Enterprize, that the very same Day he formed an Army of Three hundred *Spaniards*, Twelve or Thirteen Horse, and above thirty Thousand *Tlafcalans*, under the Command of Colonel *Christopher de Olid*; and after he had made this Disposition, he put his Design in Execution with so much Expedition, that the Army marched next Morning. *Olid* carried the Envoys sent from *Guacacubula* with him, and had Orders to advance with Circumspection, till he came near the City; and in case he suspected any Treachery, to endeavour to engage the *Mexicans* in some advantageous Post, and break them before he attacked the Town.

THEY all marched on very chearful and courageous, till at six Leagues from *Topeata*, and almost at the same Distance from *Guacacubula*, (where the Army made a Halt) they found it rumoured among the Peasants of the Country, but without any good Foundation, that the Emperor of *Mexico* was on the March with his whole Force to relieve those Cities. The Soldiers of *Narvaez* believed the Report, and so multiplied the Enemy's Forces in their Imagination, that without hearkening to Reason, or obeying Orders, they plainly and insolently protested, that they would march no farther: So that *Christopher de Olid* grew angry, and in a contemptuous manner bid them return, threatening them with the Displeasure of *Cortes*, since they were not touched with the Dishonour of their Retreat;

treat: But as he was preparing to prosecute his March without them, there happened a new Accident, which, if it did not altogether shake his Constancy, yet risked the Success of the Expedition.

THEY saw several Bodies of armed Men descending from the Tops of the neighbouring Mountains, and advancing with more than ordinary Diligence; and *Christopher de Olid* believing the *Mexicans* were coming to attack him, he immediately drew up his Men in Order: In which he acted rightly, for excessive Care never yet did Hurt in an Army. But some Horse, whom he had sent before to gain Intelligence, returned with an Account, That it was the Cazique of *Guaxozingo*, with others of his confederate Caziques, who were come to assist the *Spaniards* in their War against the *Mexicans*; who had already ravaged their Frontiers, and threatened their Dominions. Upon this, *Olid* ordered their Troops to halt, and the Caziques to come before him; which was presently done: But that which should have given them all intire Satisfaction, occasioned a second Uneasiness in the Soldiers; it began among the *Tlascalans*, and presently infected the *Spaniards*: For they both declared, That those People were not to be trusted, that their Friendship was feigned, and that they were sent by the *Mexicans*, to serve them, by falling on the *Spaniards* during the Engagement. *Christopher de Olid* heard them, and without inquiring sufficiently into the Matter, entered too lightly into their Suspicions, presently seized the Caziques, and sent them away to *Tepeaca*, for *Cortes* to determine concerning them: An inconsiderate Action, by which he ran the Risque of raising a Disturbance between his own People, and those who really came as Friends. The latter however continued in their Post, notwithstanding

standing they found they were distrusted, declaring themselves satisfied to have the Matter referred to *Cortes*; and the *Spaniards* did not dare to disturb them, because they had sent an Account of the Matter, and were obliged to stay for Orders.

THE Prisoners in a very short time were brought before *Cortes*, complaining with a good deal of Reason of *Christopher de Olid*; saying they were not so much concerned at the Disgrace offered to their Persons, as at the Suspicion of their Fidelity. *Cortes* heard them with great Benignity, and ordering their Irons to be taken off, endeavoured to satisfy them, and to regain their good Opinion; for he found in them all the Marks that usually distinguish Truth from Deceit. But upon further Consideration, he found it would be necessary to carry on this Enterprize in Person; the Distrust which his *Indian* Allies had of each other, and the Uneasiness among the *Spaniards*, seeming to threaten some fatal Event. He presently prepared for his Journey, and leaving in Charge with the Magistrates of Justice the Government of his new Settlement, he set out with the *Caziques*, and a small Escort, with such Diligence, and so eager a Desire to remove all Impediments to the Undertaking, that in few Hours he came up with the Army. Every body was pleased with his Presence; Things looked after another manner; and the Storm that was beginning to gather, dispersed. He reprimanded *Christopher de Olid*, not for sending him an Account of the Accident, since he was to near; but for discovering his Jealousy by the Imprisonment of the *Caziques*. And having joined all the Forces, without any further Delay he marched on to *Guacachula*, ordering the Envoys from that City to go and inform their *Cazique*, where he was, and what Forces he had brought along with him;

not

not that he stood in need of any Offers from that Cazique, but that he might not treat those as Enemies, whom he desired by gentle Means to reduce, and preserve in his Interest.

THE *Mexicans* were posted on the farther Side of the City; but on the first Notice from their Centinels, they advanced with so much Speed, that by the time the *Spaniards* came within Musquet-shot, they had formed their Army, and possessed themselves of the Road, with an Intention to try their Strength under Cover of the Town: The Victory was vigorously disputed, the *Mexicans* not only defending themselves, but advancing upon their Enemies, with all the Signs of a Resolution to maintain their Ground to the utmost: When the Cazique of *Guacachula* laid hold of this Occasion, to give a Proof of his Fidelity, falling on the Rear, and at the same time assaulting them from the Walls with such good Order and Bravery, as much facilitated the Victory: And in a little more than half an Hour the *Mexicans* were intirely defeated, there being but few who were not either killed or wounded.

HERNAN CORTES quartered his *Spaniards* within the City; and without the Walls, the *Tlascalans* with the rest of the Confederates, whose Number continually increased: for on the Report of his carrying on that War in Person, several other Caziques, who had submitted to the King of *Spain*, came with their Troops to serve under his Command; and his Army was so much augmented, that, according to his own Relation, he came to *Guacachula* with above one Hundred and twenty Thousand Men. He thanked the Cazique, and the Soldiers of the Country, giving them intirely the Glory of the Success; and they in Return offered to march with him to *Tzucan*, not without an

an Opinion of their being necessary, on account of the Knowledge they had of the Country, and the Proofs they had given of their Valour. The *Mexicans* had in that Town, as the *Cazique* reported, above ten Thousand Men in Garrison, besides those who had escaped from the Battle. The Inhabitants, with all the Peasants of the District, were under a Necessity of declaring against the *Spaniards*. The Place was strong by Nature, and improved by Walls and Ravelines, which stopped the Passages between the Mountains; before it ran a River, which our Army was obliged to pass: and News came, that the Enemy had broken the Bridge, in order to dispute the Passage. All these Circumstances were sufficient to make them look upon this Enterprize as no inconsiderable one, and advance with their whole Force.

CHRISTOPHER DE OLID was commanded with the Van-guard to pass the River, and tho' he was opposed by the greatest Part of the Enemy's Troops, he threw himself into the Water, and gained the opposite Shore; advancing with so much Resolution, and so little Fear of Danger, that they killed his Horse under him, and wounded him in the Thigh; but the Enemy fled to the City, which they thought to defend; for they had turned out all the useless Men, Women, and Children, reserving three Thousand resolute Peasants, and Provisions for many Days. The Condition of the Walls, and the Number of the Defendants, struck the Eyes of the Besiegers, and made them conclude, that the Assault would cost them a great many Lives; but the Army had scarce passed the River, and received Orders for the Attack, when at once the Cries of the Enemy ceased, and the whole Garrison disappeared. *Cortes* might have suspected some Stratagem, if at the same time he

he had not discovered the Flight of the *Mexicans* towards the Mountains; he detached some Companies of *Spaniards*, and the greatest Part of the *Tlascalans* to pursue them; and notwithstanding the Enemy had the Steepness of the Hills to assist them, they were broken in so small a Time, that they scarce had Leisure to face about. The City was so intirely forsaken by the Inhabitants, that they only found three or four of them among the Prisoners, by whose Means *Cortes* endeavoured to bring back the rest, sending them to the Woods, whither the People were retired with their Families, to offer them a Pardon in the Name of the King, and good Treatment to all such as would return to their Houses; which so prevailed, that most laid hold of the Opportunity, and returned the same Day: *Cortes* stayed there two or three Days, that they might recover from their Fears, and submit, after the Example of *Guacachula*. At the same time he dismissed the Troops of the *Caziques* who were in Amity with him, dividing with them the Spoil of both Actions, and then returned to *Tepeaca* with the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans*; having freed the Frontiers from the *Mexican* Troops, reduced those Cities of Importance to his Obedience, experienced the Affection of his Confederates, and disappointed the new Emperor of *Mexico* in his first Designs; which are generally observed as Prognosticks of the rest of a new Reign, and either animate, or discourage the Subjects, according to their good or ill Success.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO will not allow that *Cortes* was in this Expedition; but it may be doubted, whether his View in denying it, be not to excuse himself for having stayed in *Segura de la Frontera*, as he confesses a little before; or else he has been carried away by his Inclination to contradict

dict *Francisco Lopez de Gomara*, in this, as he doth in every thing else: For all other Writers affirm what we relate. And *Hernan Cortes* himself in his Letter to the Emperor, dated the 30th of *October* 1520. declares the Motives which obliged him to follow the Army. I am sorry there is any Occasion to contradict the Author whom I follow; but it would have been a Fault inconsistent with the Care of *Cortes*, if he had not appeared in Person with the Troops, at a Time when there were such Jealousies among his own Soldiers, such Complaints among his Confederates, and so much Insolence in the Troops of *Narvaez*; when *Christopher de Olid* himself, who commanded them, inclined to countenance their Suspicions; and all together endangered the Success of so important an Affair. *Bernal Diaz* must excuse me; he may have wrote according to his Opinion in this Case: notwithstanding which, I must believe it more likely for him to forget, than that so much Neglect could justly be imputed to a Man of his General's Vigilance.

CHAP. V.

Hernan Cortes makes some Preparations for the Enterprize of Mexico; he accidentally receives a Reinforcement of Spaniards, returns to Tlascala, and finds Magiscatzin dead.

CORTES was no sooner arrived at *Tepeaca*, now called *Segura de la Frontera*, but he received an Account that his Friend *Magiscatzin* was

was at the point of Death, which gave him great Concern: for the extraordinary Affection of that Senator for him, had unavoidably engaged him to make it reciprocal; and desiring now to give him the last Proof of his Friendship, he immediately dispatched Father *Bartolomè de Olmedo* to take care of his Soul, by endeavouring to bring him into the Catholick Church. When this Religious Man came to him, he was almost spent with the Violence of his Distemper, but very sensible, and well disposed to receive new Impressions; for he was displeased with his own Religious Rites, and the Multiplicity of his Gods; and found fewer Objections against the Religion of the *Spaniards*, as being more conformable to natural Reason, and he seemed to be blind rather for want of Light, than through any Defect in his Eyes. Father *Bartolomè* had but little Trouble in persuading him, because he found him sensible of his Errors, and desirous to be set right: So that he had only Occasion to instruct him, and use some Exhortations, in order to touch his Heart, and beget a Tranquillity in his Soul. In a very little Time he with great Earnestness desired Baptism, and received it with intire Faith, bestowing the small Remainder of his Life in fervent Reflections on his Happiness, and in exhorting his Sons to quit their Idolatry, and obey his Friend *Hernan Cortes*, endeavouring by all means the Preservation of the *Spaniards*, which they should look upon as their own Interest, for that he foresaw they would gain the Dominion of those Countries. Perhaps he was inspired, tho' he might likewise, from what had happened, have formed an Opinion which People afterwards improved into a Prophecy. There is no Doubt but God rewarded him with that extraordinary Call and Disposition of Mind, for what he had acted in favour of the Christians, as he had
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made him the principal Instrument of those frequent Succours, for which they stood indebted to the Republick of *Tlascal*. He was a Man of moral Virtues, and of so great a Capacity, that he came to be the first Man of the Senate, and in a manner governed all their Resolutions: for all gave way to his Authority, and good Understanding; and he knew how to manage his Credit with all the Moderation becoming a Member of that free State. *Hernan Cortes* was extremely concerned at his Death, and in a manner inconsolable for the Loss, not only of a Friend, but an able Director of his Designs, and one who had perfectly established him in the Friendship and Respect of the whole Republick. But Heaven, which always seem'd careful to support the General under his Misfortunes, favoured him at that Time with a Reinforcement, which mitigated his Grief, and raised his Hopes.

A SHIP of moderate Burden arrived at *St. Juan de Ulua*, and brought thirteen *Spanish* Soldiers, two Horses, and some Provisions and Ammunition, which *Diego Velasquez* sent to *Pambilo de Narvaez*, taking it for granted, that all the Conquests in that Country were his own, and the Troops of *Cortes* at his Devotion. Their Commander was *Pedro de Barba*, the same who was Governor of the *Havana*, when *Hernan Cortes* sailed from the Isle of *Cuba*, having by his Friendship escaped the last Snares that were laid to stop his Voyage. *Pedro Cavallero*, who commanded on the Coast, no sooner discovered the Vessel, but he went out in a Boat to reconnoitre: He saluted the new Comers with great Civility, and having found, by the very respectful Manner with which *Pedro de Barba* inquired after *Pambilo de Narvaez*, the Design of their coming, answered him without the least Hesitation, *That he was not only in good Health, but in great Prosperity,*
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all those Countries having submitted to him; and that Cortes, with some of his People, was fled to the Mountains. If this Turn can't be defended from the Reproach of being an Untruth, yet at least *Cavallero* deserves to be commended for his Readiness of Thought, which induced them to land without the least Distrust, and go to *Vera-Cruz*, where they discovered the Deceit, and found themselves Prisoners to *Cortes*; *Pedro de Barba* commending the Stratagem of *Cavallero*: for in reality he was not sorry to find his Friend in so good a Condition.

THEY were carried up to *Segura de la Frontera*, and *Hernan Cortes* shewed a particular Satisfaction at the happy Arrival of more Spaniards, with the agreeable Circumstance of receiving this Succour from the Hands of his Enemy. He treated *Pedro de Barba* very kindly, and gave him a Company of Cross-Bows, upon the Confidence he had in his Friendship: He also distributed some Gifts among the Soldiers, upon which they agreed to serve under his Command. He afterwards read the Letter privately which *Pedro de Barba* brought for *Narvaez*. In which *Diego Velasquez*, supposing him Master of all those Conquests, gave him Orders to maintain himself there at all Adventures; for which end he promised him very powerful Succours: And lastly, told him, that if *Cortes* was not dead, he should immediately send him away with a sufficient Guard; for that he had received express Orders from the Bishop of *Burgos* to send him Prisoner to Court: And the Consequence of this Order would have been an Arrest without Appeal, had the Affair been left to that Prelate, who was an Enemy to *Cortes*, and who, from the great Pains he took to favour *Diego Velasquez*, gave Cause to fear, that he meant to make an Example of *Cortes* in the

most publick manner, and to disguise a particular Revenge under the Appearance of Justice. About eight Days after arrived a second Vessel with another Reinforcement for *Pampbila de Narvaez*, which *Pedro Cavallero* seized after the same manner: She brought eight Soldiers and a Mare, with a considerable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, under the Command of Captain *Rodrigo Morejon de Lobera*; they all immediately went to *Segura*, and listed themselves as the others had done before them: These Succours came by a Way so unlooked for, that *Hernan Cortes* considered them as good Omens, and Forerunners of future Success.

But at the same time his Thoughts were employed about the Preparations for his Enterprize. He had already resolved upon the Conquest of *Mexico*; and the great Numbers of Allies, by which he found himself supported in his last Expedition, confirmed his Resolution: But the Passage of the Lake was the grand and unavoidable Difficulty, and gave him great Concern; for after the Enemy had once found out the Secret of breaking the Bridges of the Causeways, there was no depending upon portable Bridges, which were only to be used when they were pinched in Time; wherefore he began to think of building twelve or thirteen Brigantines, which should be able to resist the *Indian* Canoes, and transport his Troops to the City; and these he proposed to carry in Pieces on the Shoulders of the *Indian Tamenes* for fourteen or fifteen Leagues at least of very bad Way over the Mountains of *Tlascala*, to a River near the Lake. He had a very lively Imagination, and was naturally an Enemy to those lazy Spirits who fancy difficult Things to be impossible.

He communicated his Thoughts to *Martin Lopez*, on whose Ingenuity and great Abilities he depended

pended for the compassing this important Design; and finding he did not only approve of it, but also undertook to execute it with Ease, he sent him before to *Tlascala*, with all the *Spanish* Soldiers, who had any Skill in the Carpenter's Trade, in order to begin the Work, with a sufficient Number of *Indians* to cut Wood, or do any other Service for which there might be Occasion. At the same time he ordered the Iron-work and Rigging, and whatever had been preserved out of the Ships that were sunk, to be brought up from *Vera-Cruz*; and having observed, that those Mountains produced Trees which afford a kind of Rosin; he drew out such a Quantity as was necessary for the careening of his Barks.

He was in want of Powder, but soon found Means to make very good; sending to search for Sulphur, (of whose Use the *Indians* were utterly ignorant) in the *Volcano* discovered by *Diego de Ordaz*, for he believed they could not fail of finding it there; and some *Spanish* Soldiers among whom they name *Juan de Laet à Montano*, and *à Mesa*, belonging to the Artillery, offered themselves for the Service, and in fine returned with as much Sulphur, as was wanted. *Cortes* was every-where, and over-saw all that was done; so far from being fatigued, that the Pains he took rather seemed a Refreshment.

WHEN this Affair was over, he began to think of returning to *Tlascala*, to hasten as much as he could the Preparations for his Expedition; and before he went, he left his Instructions with the new Council of *Segura*, and appointed Captain *Francisco de Orozco* Commander of the Garrison, with about twenty *Spanish* Soldiers, and the Militia of the Country at his Disposál.

HE resolved to enter the City in Mourning for the Death of *Magiscatzin*, for which End both he and his Captains covered their Arms with the Manufacture of the Country dyed black. They made their Entry without any other Pomp, than that of good Order, and profound Silence observed among the Soldiers, which helped to declare their General's Grief. Both Nobles and Commonalty received this Demonstration of Concern with great Applause; for they all respected the Deceased as the Father of their Country: and tho' there is no Doubt, but that *Cortes* was sincerely affected with the Loss, which he very often lamented, and had Reason so to do, yet it is likely he had a farther View in putting on Mourning, which was to gain the Affections of the People.

THE Senate had not filled up the Place of *Magiscatzin*, (who, as one of the *Caziques* of the Republick, had governed the principal Division of the City) that *Cortes* might elect a Person to succeed him, or that they might act according to his Opinion in their Choice: *Cortes*, considering the Respect due to the Memory of the Deceased, recommended his eldest Son, and so ordered Matters, that he was unanimously chosen. He was a young Man of Judgment and Courage, and of so much Spirit, that he mounted the Tribunal without Surprise, or being at a Loss in Matters of Government; and finally, he gave such Proofs of his Capacity in the most essential Point, that in a little time he earnestly desired Baptism, and received it with publick Solemnity, taking upon him the Name of *Don Lorenzo de Magiscatzin*: a wonderful Effect of the Arguments he had heard Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* employ in the Conversion of his Father, which having meditated and digested, he came by degrees to a Sense of his Error. At this time also the *Cazique* of *Xzusan* was baptized,

a Youth who came to *Tlascala* with the Ensigns of his new Command, and to thank *Cortes* for having determined a Suit in his Favour, which had been commenced against him by his Relations concerning the Inheritance of his Father. For now every one consulted *Cortes*, both *Caziques* and particular Persons referring all their Differences to him, and receiving his Decisions as inviolable Laws. So much did they respect him, and so great an Opinion had they of his Equity.

THE Noise which these Conversions made in the Town, awakened old *Xicotencal*, who tho' dissatisfied with the Absurdities of Gentilism, was grown old in Error, and had a Levity in his Disposition, which would not let him adhere to any Resolution; a Failing natural to old Age: But the Example of *Magiscatzin*, a Man equal to him in Authority, and his Conversion to the Catholick Religion at the Point of Death, had such an Effect as to open the Eyes of his Understanding, and induce him to receive Baptism with a publick Detestation of his Errors. In Truth it does not appear, that the Gospel could possibly have been in a fairer Way to make a Progress in this Country, the Nobles and wisest Men of the Republick, whose Opinion governed all the rest, being converted to the Catholick Faith: But the Circumstances of these times did not allow the *Spaniards* to give their Application to it. *Hernan Cortes* was wholly taken up with making Dispositions for his Enterprize, Father *Bartolomè de Olmedo* wanted Fellow-Labourers; and both were of Opinion, that they could not attempt introducing Religion with any Success, till they had subdued the *Mexicans*, and established Peace, which they looked upon as previously necessary to settle the warlike Spirits of the *Tlascalans*, and fit them for the Reception of the Gospel. The great Affair therefore was for the present laid aside, Examples grew

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rare, and the People continued in their Idolatry. 'Twas possible, whilst the Army remained there, they might have reaped the first Fruits at least of such a favourable Opportunity : But the continual Alarms and Rumours of War at this time postponing all Attention to other things, and it sometimes happening, that the Maxims of Violence are better attended to, when Reason is silent, I don't find that they made, or even endeavoured any other Conversions.

CH A P. VI.

A fresh Succour of Spanish Soldiers arrives at the Army. The Men who came with Narvaez, are importunate for their Discharge and Return to Cuba. Hernan Cortes draws up a second Relation of his Expedition, and dispatches new Envoys to the Emperor Charles V.

CORTES complained with some Warmth of *Francisco de Garay*, for that knowing very well the Progress he had made in the Empire of *Mexico*, he did, notwithstanding, endeavour to make a Conquest and Settlement in the Province of *Panuco* ; but such a happy Ascendant had the Fortune of *Cortes* over that of his Rivals, that as *Diego de Velasquez* furnished him with Succours the same Way by which he intended to destroy him, and support *Pampilo de Narvaez*, so the Measures which *Garay* had taken to usurp some Part of his Government, turned likewise to his Advantage.

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We have already related, how *Garay* was repulsed from *Panuco*, when *Cortes* was with his Troops at *Zempoala*; notwithstanding which, he resolved to pursue his Enterprize, and had prepared another Fleet, with a greater Number of Soldiers, commanded by all his best Officers: But the second Expedition was as unfortunate as the first; for the *Spaniards* were no sooner landed, but they met with such a gallant Resistance from the *Indians*, that they were glad to retreat to their Ships in the utmost Disorder; and being wholly intent how to avoid the present Danger, put to Sea without observing the same Course. They were separated for some Days, and without knowing any thing of each others Design, they arrived almost all at the same time on the Coast of *Vera-Cruz*, where they agreed to serve under *Cortes*, without any other Motive than that of his great Reputation.

THIS Succour was looked upon as sent from Heaven: For tho' it be certain, that the Confusion and Unskilfulness of the Soldiers and Sailors might help to disperse these Vessels, and abandon them to the Mercy of the Winds, which forced them on the Coast where they were so much wanted; yet their coming so opportunely, and after so many Misfortunes, to augment the Troops of *Cortes*, is an Event worthy of particular Reflection; for such a Chain of happy Accidents is not wont to be attributed, or very rarely, to mere Chance.

THE first Ship that arrived, was commanded by Captain *Camargo*, and had on board sixty *Spanish* Soldiers; a little after came another with fifty choice Soldiers, and seven Horses, commanded by Captain *Miguel Diaz de Auz*, a Gentleman of *Aragon*, who had so signalized himself on all Occasions, that his Person alone was esteemed a very great Succour; and lastly, tho' somewhat late, ar-

rived the Vessel commanded by Captain *Ramirez*, with above forty Soldiers, ten Horses, and great Abundance of Provisions and Arms. They all landed, and the first, without staying for the rest, made the best of their way to *Tlascala*, leaving an Example to their Fellows to take the same Rout, which they all did with intire Satisfaction. For the great Advances made by *Cortes* in *New Spain*, had made such a Noise over all the Islands, that the Soldiers were easily led whither they thought Wealth and Prosperity invited them.

THIS Succour considerably augmented the Number of the *Spaniards*, and inspired them with fresh Hopes: The Soldiers received the New-comers with Acclamations of Joy; they embraced each other as Friends of a long Acquaintance, without any other Tye than that of coming from the same Country; and *Cortes* himself, forgetting the Gravity of a General, was transported with Joy; but at the same time did not forget to return Thanks to God, attributing to him, and to the Justice of his Cause, all these surprizing Events.

NOTWITHSTANDING this good Fortune, he could not quiet the Soldiers of *Narvaez*, who were importunate with him for Leave to return to the Isle of *Cuba*; they put him in mind of his Promise, and he could not deny but that they went upon the Expedition to *Tepeaca* on that Condition; for which Reason, he was not willing to enter into any new Disputes with them, and the rather, because he found his Troops augmented with Soldiers better disciplined, and did not think it a proper Time to march at the Head of unwilling Mutineers, who would be sure to shew Uneasiness on every Fatigue, and be always railing at the Enterprize, pernicious in the Camp, and useless upon Occasions, deceiving their General with the Appearance

pearance of Soldiers in the Review, and yet of no Service.

FOR these Reasons therefore he ordered Proclamation to be made, *That whoever had a Mind to return home, was free to go, and should be furnished with Vessels, and every thing else that was necessary.* The greatest Part of the Soldiers of *Narvaez* made use of the Opportunity, but some stayed out of a Point of Honour. *Bernal Diaz* takes no Notice of the Names of those who stayed, but tediously enumerates almost all who went, defrauding the first of the Honour that was their Due, and wasting his Time in disgracing the last; whereas it would have been much more reasonable to have forgotten those who shewed so little Regard to their Reputation: But what deserves to be remarked, is, that *Andres de Duero*, who appeared on several Occasions so much attached to the Interest of *Cortes*, was one of those who retired; and altho' there be no Account of the Reason of this Separation, we may very well believe there was but little Sincerity in the Pretences, with which he coloured his Retreat; since we find him shortly after making use of all his Interest at the Court in favour of *Diego Velasquez*. If there was any Misunderstanding between *Cortes* and him, which might give Occasion for this Breach, Reason must have been on *Cortes's* Side; it not being likely that it could be pleaded in behalf of a Man, who shewed as little Regard to that, as he did to his Reputation, by not only leaving his Friend engaged in an Enterprize of so much Honour and Danger, but withal taking upon him a Commission by which he was obliged either basely to act against his own Sentiments, or to yield his Understanding a Slave to an unreasonable Passion.

HERNAN

HERNAN CORTES having now got rid of these Mutineers, whom *Atvarado* had the Care of conducting to the Vessels, began to consider of the Time necessary to be employed in building the Brigantines. He dispatched new Orders to the Confederates to hold themselves ready to march upon the first Notice, directing the Quantity of Provisions and Arms they were to provide, according to the Number of their Troops: And at his leisure Hours he wrote an Account of all the Particulars of the Conquest, to be sent to the Emperor; designing to equip a Vessel, and send new Agents, who might hasten the Dispatch of the former, or give him Notice of the Condition his Affairs were in at the Court of *Spain*, his Uncertainty therein being now one of his greatest Disquiets.

CORTES drew up this Account in Form of a Letter, and repeating every thing of Importance in the Dispatches he sent the Year before by the Captains *Portocarrero* and *Montexo*, he gave his Majesty a faithful Relation of all his Adventures, both prosperous and unfortunate, from the time he marched out of *Zempoala*, and by his Courage and Conduct made his triumphant Entry into the capital City of the Empire, till he was afterwards forced to retreat to *Tlascala*, with considerable Loss. He also acquainted him with how much Security he was able to maintain himself in that Province, together with the Number of *Spaniards* that had augmented his Troops, and the great Confederacies he had made with divers *Indian* Nations, for renewing the War against the *Mexicans*. He expressed, with a noble and generous Confidence, the Hope he had of reducing to his Majesty's Obedience all that new World, whose Bounds to the North were unknown even to the Natives. He enlarged upon the Riches of that Empire, the
Fertility

Fertility of the Soil, and the Wealth of the several Princes. He highly extolled the Valour and Constancy of the *Spaniards*, and the Affection and Fidelity of the *Tlascalans*: With relation to himself, he left it to his Actions to speak for him; and yet, without exceeding the Bounds of Modesty, he gave some Strokes to the Reputation of the Conquest, that set in its true Light the Glory of the Conqueror. He desired speedy Justice against the unfair Proceedings of *Diego Velasquez*, and *Francisco de Garay*; and made pressing Instances for an immediate Succour of Soldiers, Horses, Arms, and other warlike Provisions. He represented in yet stronger Terms the Necessity of sending some Ecclesiasticks and Regulars of approved Virtue, to assist Father *Olmedo* in the Conversion of the *Indians*, giving an Account that some of the Chief among them were already baptized, and that in the rest there was such a kind of Disposition to receive the Truth, as gave great Hopes of its making a considerable Progress. This was the Substance of the Letter he at that time wrote to the Emperor, laying before his Majesty every thing that had passed, without forgetting any considerable Circumstance; all which he expressed in proper and well-chosen Terms, according to the Eloquence of that Age; and it may be a Question whether they were not more agreeable than those now in Use, to that Character of Nature and Simplicity, which becomes the Style of Letters. At the same time it must be confessed, he was somewhat mistaken in the Names of Towns and Provinces, which being altogether new, could not be exactly pronounced, or faithfully rendered upon Paper.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO reports, that the General sent these Dispatches by the Captains *Alonso de*

de Mendoza, and *Diego de Ordaz*; and tho' *Antonio de Herrera* mentions only the first, it is not probable that he would entrust an Affair of so much Consequence to one Person alone, when Prudence required him to provide against the Accidents of so long a Voyage. His private Instructions to them were, *That before they discovered their Commission, or made any Declaration of their being sent by him, they should first find out his Father, and the two Agents who were sent the Year before; and jointly carry on their Negotiation, according as the Condition of his Affairs should require.* He remitted also a second Present for the Emperor, consisting of Gold and other Curiosities which had been preserved at *Tlaxcala*, to which the Soldiers also contributed, and were upon this Occasion very liberal of their little Substance; adding moreover the Booty acquired in the Expeditions of *Tepeaca* and *Guacachula*: A Present less rich than the former, but more deserving to be prized, as being amassed in the midst of their Disgraces, and consequently to be regarded as the Remains after those Losses whereof *Cortes* had given a faithful Account in his Letter.

THE General thought it proper at the same time, that the two Councils of *Vera-Cruz* and *Segura de la Frontera* should write to his Majesty, as being the Government in that Country. They in their Letters solicited for the same Assistance, declaring, *That they thought themselves bound in Duty to represent to his Majesty, how much it imported to maintain Hernan Cortes in his Post of Captain-General, for as the Beginning of this great Work was wholly owing to his Valour and Conduct, it would be no easy Matter to find any other Head or Hands capable of bringing it to Perfection:* And in this they sincerely delivered their Opinions, and what they thought most

most advantageous for the Service in that Conjunction. *Bernal Diaz* saith, that *Hernan Cortes* saw those Letters, insinuating as if he had desired that Solicitation in his Favour: It is very probable he did see them, but it is likewise certain, that those Letters contained such Truths as did not stand in need of any Flattery or Exaggeration. *Diaz* complains likewise, that the Soldiers were not permitted to write apart in the Name of their whole Corps, not that he differed in his Sentiments from the Councils (for he declares the contrary more than once); but as the Subject-matter was the Preservation of his General, he desired to join his Opinion with the rest, and to give him his Assistance on this Occasion, as in Truth he bravely did in War. Let it pass for Ambition of Glory, a Vice that ought to be pardoned in Men of Merit, and appears very much like Virtue in a Soldier.

ORDAZ and *Mendoza* embarked on Board one of the Vessels, which arrived a little before at *Vera-Cruz*, with every Thing necessary for such a Voyage; and soon after *Cortes* resolved to freight another Vessel, and dispatch the Captains *Alonso Davila* and *Francisco Alvarez Chico* with Letters for the Regulars of *St. Jerome*, who presided in the Royal Audience of *Santo Domingo*, the only one at that time in those Countries, and whose Jurisdiction extended over all the Islands, as well as the new Discoveries on the Main Land. He communicated to them the Account he had sent to the Emperor, and desired their speedy Assistance towards the Enterprize in which he was engaged; as also that they would put a Stop to the vexatious Proceedings of *Velasquez* and *Garay*. Tho' these Ministers were convinced of the Justice of his Demands, and admired his Constancy and Valour, yet

yet the Island of *Santo Domingo* was not at that time in a Condition to part either with Men or Provisions: But they approved of every thing he had done, and offered to support the Justice of his Pretensions with the Emperor, and solicit such Succours as were necessary for an Affair of so great Importance, and so far advanced; taking upon themselves the Care to check the Efforts of his Two Rivals, by very strict and repeated Orders. And to this Effect they answered his Letters, sending back his Envoys with good Words, but without the Succours he desired. But before we proceed in the farther Account of this Conquest, and while the building of the Brigantines, and other Preparations for the Return to *Mexico*, are carried on with the utmost Diligence; it will be proper to go back to the two first Envoys of *Cortes*, and see in what Condition the Affairs of *New-Spain* were at the Emperor's Court: the Reader cannot but desire to be informed therein, and such an Account may be reckoned among those necessary Digressions permitted to an Historian, as they contribute to the Perfection of his Work, without destroying its Proportion.

C H A P. VII.

The Envoys of Hernan Cortes arrive in Spain, and pass on to Medellin, where they continue till the Troubles of the Kingdom are over; after which they go to the Court, and prevail to have the Bishop of Burgos set aside from being a Judge in the Cause of Cortes.

WE left *Martin Cortes* with the two first Envoys of his Son, *Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero* and *Francisco de Montexo*, in the wretched Employment of following the Regency, and waiting in the Antichambers of the Ministers: so far from being admitted to Audience, that not daring to importune them with any Requests, they only presented themselves in the Throng as they passed by, and were forced to content themselves with receiving the accidental Glance of an Eye; the comfortless Notice taken of those, who having all the Justice in the World on their Side, are yet afraid to ruin their Pretensions, by advancing themselves unseasonably. The Emperor, as we have already observed, gave them a very favourable Hearing; and though he was disgusted with the Insolence and the Attempts of some Towns in *Spain*, which endeavoured to oppose his Voyage to *Germany*, by irreverent Protests, little less indeed than Threats, yet he found sufficient Time to inform himself very exactly of all that passed in *New Spain*, and to judge what might be expected from the Enterprize. He made himself Master of the whole Affair, not disdain-
ing to ask Questions upon many Points, it being no ways unbecoming Majesty to receive from a
Subject

Subject those Helps that serve to explain an Affair; nor should a King always go to Council full of Doubts. The Emperor presently discovered the great Advantages which might be expected from such wonderful Beginnings: And the Idea he at that Time formed of the Merit of *Cortes*, helped extremely to recommend him to his Favour, as he was naturally inclined to value extraordinary Men.

THE Affairs of the Kingdom, and the sudden Departure of the Emperor, did not permit him to come to any fixt Resolution in a Matter wherein so many Difficulties were raised, as well by the Agents of *Velasquez*, as by some Ministers who were in secret Intelligence with them, and supported them. But when the Day of his Embarkation came, which was the 20th of *May* 1520, his Majesty did in a particular manner recommend the Examination of the Affair of *Cortes* to Cardinal *Adriano*, Governor of the Kingdom in his Absence. The Cardinal was very sincerely desirous to favour his Cause; but as the Informations by which he was to govern himself, came from the Council of the *Indies*, (where the Votes were influenced by the Authority and Prejudice of the President, the Bishop of *Burgos*) he found himself at a loss how to come to any Resolution; nor was it an easy matter to assure himself of making a right Judgment, while the Representations of *Velasquez* came cloathed with the Appearance of Justice, and the Exploits of *Cortes* were discredited with the Name of Rebellion.

AFTERWARDS, when it was most necessary, there wanted Time to examine into the Truth of this Affair, the Cares of the Ministers being employed in Matters of the last Importance: Several Cities began to stir, under Pretext of correcting what they called the Disorders of the State, and others followed them to the same Precipice, without examining
whether

whether that Pretext was reasonable or not. They all look'd on the Absence of the Emperor as their greatest Misfortune, and some believed they did him good Service, or at least kept within the Bounds of their Obedience, mistaking the Transports of a false Zeal for Proofs of their Respect and Duty.

THE common People took up Arms to justify their first Offence, and some Gentlemen so far degraded themselves, as to join them, through want of Understanding; a Defect which generally effaces all those Sentiments which Nobility of Blood inspires. The great Lords and Ministers espoused the Cause of Justice, notwithstanding the Affronts and Dangers that attended it. In short, the whole Kingdom was in Confusion, and the Sovereign Authority in a manner usurped by these Factions, in our History called *Communities*, though we know not with what Reason; for it could not be properly said the Complaint was common, when many Cities, and almost the whole Body of the Nobility, asserted the Rights of the King: However, the Rebels gave this Name to their Insolence, and have been favoured by Posterity with the Title which they took to honour their Revolt.

THOUGH the Account of these Disturbances be foreign to my Argument, I could not avoid touching upon them, as one of the Causes that put a Stop to the good Intentions of the Cardinal, and crossed the Negotiations of Cortes: It was indeed a very unseasonable Time to consider of new Enterprizes, when the Regent and Ministers were so wholly employed in finding Remedies for the Evils which afflicted the State within Doors, that those without made no sort of Impression upon them: So that *Martin Cortes* and his Friends, sensible of the small Advantages they reaped by their Solicitations,

and of the general Disorder of Affairs, retired to *Medellin*, with a Resolution to let the Storm blow over, and expect the Return of the Emperor, who was perfectly well apprized of the Affair, and had shewn a Disposition to do Justice to their Pretensions; and they plainly saw, that his Authority was necessary to surmount the Opposition of the Bishop of *Burgos*, and other Impediments which arose from the present Posture of Affairs.

SOME little time after, *Diego de Ordaz* and *Alonso de Mendoza* arrived at *Sevil*, after a prosperous Voyage; and, without discovering themselves, or their Commission, they took Care to be informed of the State of *Cortes's* Affairs, a Precaution which imported no less than their Liberty; for they understood, to their great Surprise, that the Commissioners of Trade had express Orders from the Bishop of *Burgos*, to stop and imprison any Person whatsoever, who should be sent from *New-Spain*, and to seize on the Gold and other Merchandize that he should bring either on his own Account, or by way of Commission. Upon which, they only endeavoured to secure their Persons, and thought themselves very happy in preserving their Letters and Dispatches, leaving the Present for the King, with every thing else, in the Hands of those Judges, and to be disposed of at the Pleasure of the Bishop of *Burgos*.

THEY parted from *Sevil*, not without great Apprehension of being discovered, determining, if possible, to find out at the Court either *Martin Cortes*, or his Son's two Agents, in order to get Light from their Informations how to proceed; but hearing on the Road, that they were retired to *Medellin*, they went on to that Town, where their Arrival was welcomed with all the Demonstrations of Joy, which such wonderful and wished-for News could

could inspire. It was debated among them, whether it would be proper to carry the Dispatches of *Cortes* immediately to the Cardinal Regent, without delaying to inform him of such important News; but considering the present Disturbances of the Kingdom, they thought it would be to no Purpose to speak of distant Advantages, which regarded the Augmentation, but not the Safety of the Monarchy: Upon which they resolved to continue in their Retirement, till Affairs should take another Turn, and the Ministers be more at Leisure.

THE Disorders of *Castile* increased every Day; for the Mutineers, not content to defend themselves in their Rebellion, carried their Insolence so far, as to plunder the Country, and lay Siege to Towns which retained their Fidelity; the Forbearance of the Government exciting their Ambition to become the Aggressors. At first the Ministers thought to bring them to a Sense of their Duty by gentle Means and Patience; but the Distemper was too deeply rooted to allow of the slow Operation of such soft Remedies, and more especially because the Rebels imagined they had both Force and Justice on their Side: Nor were some Ecclesiasticks wanting, who, regardless of their Duty, abused the Pulpit, by preaching up Sedition, confirming the People in their Obstinacy, and persuading them, that to correct the Disorders of the State, was doing good Service both to God and the King. It came to that pass, that the great Lords and Gentlemen were obliged to take up Arms to re-establish the Authority of Justice, and to animate those Cities which held for the Emperor. And notwithstanding the Rebels had the Temerity to bring an Army into the Field, and try their Strength with those whom they called their Emenies; yet, after two Engagements, in which they lost a great Number

ber of Men, together with their Reputation, and after the Execution of four of the principal Authors of the Sedition, their Pride abated, and their Forces dispersed; the Prudent and the Timorous both secured themselves as well as they could; the Cities returned to their Obedience, the Tumult ceased, and Reason resumed her Place. In short, it was but little more than a popular Commotion, which begins and ends with the same Facility.

THE Account which came at that time of the Emperor's Return, contributed very much to restore the publick Tranquillity: He gave Assurance in his Letters, that he would leave all other Affairs, to come where his Presence was so necessary. This Assurance intirely settled every thing, and *Martin Cortes*, judging it a proper Time to renew his Solicitations, set out immediately for the Court, with the four Commissioners from his Son; where, after some small Delays, they had a particular Audience of the Cardinal Regent. They informed him in general how far Matters were advanced towards the Conquest of *Mexico*, and referred him to the Letters of *Cortes* for the Particulars. They gave him also an Account of the Orders they found at *Sevil*, for imprisoning any one who should come from *Cortes*, and of the Seizure of the Present they had brought for the King. Upon this Occasion, they represented the Reasons they had to distrust the Bishop of *Burgos*; and lastly, desired Leave to except against him in a legal way as a Judge, offering to make good the Reasons of their Exception, or suffer the Penalty of their Irreverence. The Cardinal heard them with Attention, he seemed touched with their Misfortune, and comforted them with Promises of a speedy Dispatch. He was particularly displeased with the Orders given at *Sevil*, and the Seizure of the Present, as
being

being done without his Knowledge. Whereupon, the Cardinal answered them, with regard to their Request concerning the Bishop, *That they might take their Remedy against him at Law, after the Manner they thought most proper; and that he would protect them from any Violence they might have Reason to fear in the Course of that Process:* Which sufficiently animated them for the hazardous Undertaking of engaging in a Suit with a powerful Enemy; an Enterprize in which a Man is in a manner obliged to speak in the most tender Terms, and where Fear is wont to take off a good deal from the Force of Reason.

WITH these Encouragements to hope for better Fortune, they immediately entered their Exception against the President of the Council of the *Indies* in his own Court, delivering their Reasons in Writing with all the Temper and Moderation necessary to observe a due Respect. But their Reasons were so strong, and the Truth of what they alledged so well known to the other Judges, that they durst not deny Justice in an Affair of that Importance, and more especially on the Approach of the Emperor's Return, the Report of which was joyfully received by all who did not stand in Fear of his Presence; and not only quieted the Minds of the People, but occasioned his Ministers to act with Circumspection. *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, and others who have followed him, treat the Bishop too rigorously upon this Occasion: *Diaz* relates what he heard, and the rest have copyed it; but the Whole of what they say doth not seem credible of so venerable and accomplished a Prelate. However, some of the Articles against him were certainly proved; as, his treating of a Marriage between his Niece and *Diego Velasquez*, the sharp Expressions he used on several Occasions to the

Envoys of *Cortes*, whom he treated as Rebels and Traitors, when his Passion had got the better of his Prudence. These Proofs, with the Orders he had given in *Sevil* to imprison all Persons sent from *New-Spain*, which were too publick to be denyed, were thought sufficient to justify the Recusation. After a full Hearing, and with the Approbation of the Council of State and the Cardinal, the Bishop was absolutely forbid to interfere in any Matters between *Hernan Cortes* and *Diego Velasquez*; his Orders were revoked, the Embargo's at *Savil* taken off, and the Importance of the Undertaking appeared in its true Light. The heroick Actions of *Cortes*, which were almost obscured before by the Suspicion of his Fidelity, were now celebrated with the Praises they deserved; and the Cardinal, by several Decrees, recommended the Dispatch of the Envoys, and was so sincerely desirous to forward the Affair, that even after he had received the News of his Exaltation to St. *Peter's* Chair, he dispatched some Orders favourable to *Cortes*, as he was on the Road to embark: Whether he was affected by the Justice of his Cause, or that having his Mind possessed with the Cares of the supreme Dignity, he thought it his Duty to remove all Impediments to a Conquest, that was to prepare the Way for the Introduction of the Gospel, and facilitate the Conversion of the *Indians*; an Interest of the Church worthy to engage the very first Reflections of the Sovereign Pontiff.

C H A P. VIII.

Concludes the Affairs of the precedent Chapter.

THE new Pope *Adrian*, the Sixth of that Name, was then at *Victoria*, whither he went to give the necessary Orders for relieving the Provinces of *Navarre* and *Guipuscoa*, whose Frontiers the *French* had ravaged, in order to foment the Disturbances of *Castile*. But the Affairs of *Italy*, and repeated Letters from *Rome*, obliged him to begin his Journey, leaving every thing under his charge in the best Posture he could. Soon after, the Emperor arrived on the Coast of *Biscay*, and landing at the Port of *Santander*, found his Kingdoms almost recovered of the domestick Evils they had laboured under. The Storm was over, but the hollow Noise of the yet working Sea continued, as it is wont to do, for some time after a Tempest, before a settled Calm. He thought therefore, that to chastise some of the Seditious (excepted out of the general Pardon) would be necessary for the re-establishing of Peace and Justice. He also found some Reminders of another Evil which *Spain* had suffered during his Absence; for the *French* had unexpectedly seized upon the Kingdom of *Navarre*: and though they were beaten out, after losing a Battle, together with their Reputation, and ill-gotten Booty, yet were still in Possession of *Frontarabia*; and it was absolutely necessary to retake this Place, into which the Enemy were preparing to throw a powerful Reinforcement. But notwithstanding these Affairs, and others at the same time in *Italy*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*, he found Time for those of *New-Spain*, to which he always had a very particular Attention: He gave another Audience to the Envoys of *Cortes*;

and tho' those of *Diego Velasquez* at the same time presented their Request, yet, as he had been well informed of the Case on both sides by Letters from the Pope, he, by a new Sentence, confirmed the Recusation of the Bishop of *Burgos*, and appointed Commissaries to determine finally upon this Affair, viz. the great Chancellor of *Arragon*, *Mercurio de Catinara*; *Hernando de Vega*, Lord of *Grajal*, and Great Commander of *Castile*; Doctor *Lorenzo Galindez* of *Caravajal*; the Licentiate *Francisco de Vargas* Councillor of State, and Chamberlain to the King; and Monsieur *de la Rose*, the *Flemish* Minister: Monsieur *de la Chau*, whom *Diaz* and *Herrera* have added to this Commission, could not possibly be one of the Number, being dead some Years before in *Saragossa*; and the Post of Grand Chancellor, vacant by his Death, being possessed by *Mercurio de Catinara*. The Election of Persons so well qualified, shewed the Justice of his Majesty's Intentions: For the Kingdom did not afford Men in whom the Emperor reposed more Confidence; nor were any to be found, in whom Learning, Prudence, and Equity appeared in a more eminent degree.

THE first Thing the Council did, was to look over the Memorials drawn from Letters and Relations produced at the Trial; but there they were so embarrassed by contradictory Accounts; that they thought it necessary to order the Agents on both Sides to explain themselves, *viva voce*, in the next Meeting; for they were all desirous to dispatch this Affair, and examine strictly into the Accusations brought by the Parties against each other, and into the Strength of their respective Arguments, that so they might come to the Knowledge of the Truth, without tying themselves up to Forms

Forms of Law, which generally do but perplex a Cause, and are so many Obstacles to Justice.

THE next Day the Agents appeared before the Council with their Advocates; and, among those for *Diego Velasquez*, *Andres de Duero* signalized himself: but People were the less surprized to see him unfaithful to his Friend, knowing he had been so first to his Master. The Memorials were read; and the Parties at the same time were examined, in order to discover how they justified themselves from their respective Accusations, and made good their Complaints. From their Answers, the Judges drew what was sufficient to decide the Affair: And, after some few Days Hearings, the Court unanimously agreed, *That it was not reasonable for Diego Velasquez to appropriate to himself the Advantages of the Conquest of New Spain, without a better Title than that of having expended some Money in the Preparations for that Enterprize, and naming Cortes for Commander: That he could only have his Action for what he had laid out, making it appear to be from his own proper Stock, and not any of the Effects belonging to the King in his Government: That the Nomination of Cortes afforded him no Pretence either to the Honour or Advantage of the Conquest; for, besides that he gave him the Commission without the Authority of the Ministers of the Royal Audience, whose Orders he should have received, or so much as acquainting them with it, he lost those Prerogatives the Day that he revoked it, and could have no Right to say, That the Conquest was made by his Order, Cortes being by that Revocation left free to act as he should judge most advantageous for the Service of the King, with the Troops and Vessels which, for the most part, he had raised and equipped at his own Expence, and that of his Friends.*

AND

AND tho' the Judges were also very sensible, that the Conduct of *Cortes* was not, in the Beginning of this Enterprize, altogether so regular as it should have been, yet they thought something was to be allowed to his just Indignation, and much more to its admirable Effects: A Conquest so wonderful, and of so great Importance, the Difficulties of which had only served to manifest his incomparable Valour, and, above all, his Fidelity, and inviolable Attachment to his Duty! For which Reason, they judged him worthy to be continued in the Command of what he had conquered, and to be encouraged and supported in an Undertaking already so far advanced. And, lastly, they censured *Diego Velasquez*, as a Person who had shewed a very ungovernable Ambition, in aspiring, with so little Reason, to usurp the Glory and Advantage of the Actions of another; and as having been guilty of a Rashness which deserved a very severe Reprimand, in sending an Army against *Hernan Cortes*, without considering the Consequences which might have attended such violent Proceedings, or regarding the Orders he had received to the contrary from the Ministers of the Royal Audience of *St. Domingo*.

THESE Conclusions were laid before the Emperor, which being approved by his Majesty, Sentence was pronounced, declaring *Hernan Cortes* to be a good Minister, and faithful Subject; honouring with the like Approbation the Officers and Soldiers under his Command; imposing perpetual Silence on *Diego Velasquez*, on the Subject of any Pretensions to the Conquest of *New Spain*; and strictly commanding him, on pain of severe Punishment, not to raise the least Obstacle to that Affair, either directly or indirectly, with a Reservation for any Demand he might have on account of Monies
by

by him expended in the Armament of the Vessels, which he was to make out his Claim to, and sue for in the ordinary way of Justice. And thus did this Affair end, the Judges referring the Honours designed for *Cortes*, the Reprimanding of *Velasquez*, and other Conclusions of the Council, to the Dispatches that were to be sent in the Name of the Emperor.

SOME are of the Opinion, that this Judgment was framed rather according to Reasons of State, than the Rigour of Justice: It is not my Business to examine the Right of the pretending Parties; I have shewn the Motives and Considerations upon which the Judges pronounced Sentence, and I am not insensible, that in the first Steps of *Cortes* there is Occasion for a favourable Interpretation; but at the same time it cannot be denied, that his Title to the Conquest was as good as the Emperor's to the Country conquered. Upon which Consideration, the Judges might very well proceed as a Court of Equity, by taking this Affair out of the common Road, and moderating the Rigour of Justice: To which they were the more induced by the Weakness of *Velasquez's* Arguments, his violent Proceedings, and Disrespect to the Royal Authority. It is said he lived but a little while after he received the Emperor's Reprimand, the very Words of Kings having the Power to reward and punish. We must not refuse to *Diego Velasquez* the just Praises he deserved, on account of his Quality, Capacity, and Courage, of which he had given signal Proofs in the Conquest of *Cuba*; but upon this Occasion he was miserably mistaken in the Beginning, and, by the Use of improper Means, fell short of the End he proposed; and, finally, his Impatience hastened his Death. His first Fault was Distrust, a Vice which, like Excess of Fear, produces

produces Rashness; the second was Anger, which does more than make Men irrational; for it makes them Enemies to Reason: and the third was Envy, which, in mean Spirits, supplies the Place of Anger.

THE next Thing taken into Consideration, was the Assistance to be given *Cortes*, the Care of which the Emperor referred to the same Council: He gave a very favourable Audience to his Agents, and seemed well pleased, that Justice had declared on their Side: He bestowed several Marks of his Favour upon *Martin Cortes*, on account of his Son's Merit, whom he promised to reward according to the Greatness of his Service. Several Regulars were named for the Conversion of the *Indians*, the first Care of the Emperor, who was always more zealous for the Advancement of Religion, than for the Augmentation of his Empire. He ordered a considerable Number of Arms and Horses to be embarked in the first Fleet; and, considering how much it imported to use the utmost Dispatch at a time when *Hernan Cortes* was engaged in War, and not without great Suspicion of his Rivals, he commanded the Orders to be immediately drawn, and sent by several Letters.

ONE was directed to the Governors and Royal Audience of *Saint Domingo*, signifying to them his Resolution, with Orders to assist *Cortes* to the utmost of their Power, and to remove all Impediments to his Conquest. Another was to *Diego Velasquez*, strictly injoining him to desist from further interfering in that Enterprize, and severely censuring his violent Proceedings. There was another to *Francisco de Garay*, blaming him for attempting any thing on *New Spain*, and forbidding him to continue that Design. The last was directed to *Hernan Cortes*, and abounded in those Marks of Honour

Honour and Favour which Kings bestow on those from whom they have received extraordinary Services, when they do not disdain to own the Obligation. The Emperor in this Letter did not only approve the past Actions of *Cortes*, but withal his present Design, and the Disposition he had made for re-taking the City of *Mexico*. He let him know how sensible he was of his Valour and Constancy, not forgetting to take Notice of the Prudence and Address with which he had managed both his own Troops, and those of his Confederates. His Majesty also informed him of the Orders he had given to secure him from his Rivals, and of the Commission he had sent him to be Governor and Captain-General of that Country. He assured him at the same time of more solid Proofs of his Acknowledgment, and made particular and honourable mention of the Captains and Soldiers who had served under him. He recommended to him in a most pressing Manner to treat the *Indians* well, and to take care to have them instructed in the Christian Religion, considering them as a Soil capable of being cultivated by the Gospel: He lastly gave him Hopes of speedy Succour and Assistance, referring to his Valour and Fidelity the final Accomplishment of so great a Work. A Letter which will for ever honour the illustrious Posterity of *Cortes*! and such a one as would not only give Nobility, where it is wanting, but a Lustre to Families of the noblest Descent.

THESE Dispatches were all signed by the Emperor in *Valladolid*, the 22d of *October* 1522. and immediately sent away with two of the Envoys of *Cortes*, the other two remaining behind to solicit Succours, and receive Instructions that were framing

ming for the civil and military Government of the new-conquered Country.

Tho' we have a little interrupted our Account of the Exploits of *Cortes*, we thought it necessary to pursue this Affair to the Conclusion, that we might not leave it unfinished in such manner as should oblige us to make another Digression: A Liberty not only taken by Historians, but Annalists, who tie themselves up more strictly to Time; as we find it practised in *Cornelius Tacitus*, who, in the Empire of *Claudius*, introduces and concludes the Wars of *Britain*, under the two Vice-Pretors, *Ossorius* and *Didius*, judging it less inconvenient to break through the Series of Years, than the Connexion of important Events.

C H A P. IX.

Cortes receives a new Succour of Men and Ammunition: He musters his Spanish Troops; and the Confederates do the like, after his Example: He publishes certain military Orders, and begins his March, with a Design to possess himself of Tezeuco.

IT was now about the End of the Year 1520, when *Cortes* resolved to march with his whole Army into the Enemy's Country, and to make the last Dispositions for his grand Enterprize. He had received, some few Days before, a Succour of Men, whom good Fortune threw in his way; for the Governor of *Vera-Cruz*, gave him Notice, that a Merchant-Man from the *Canaries* was anchored there, with a considerable Quantity of Fire-Arms
and

and Powder, and other warlike Provisions, three Horses, and some Passengers, who came thither purposely to sell their Merchandize to the *Spaniards*, who were engaged in that Conquest.

AT that time all Sorts of Goods sold at an excessive Price in the *Indies*, and the Hopes of Gain had quite overcome all Fear of so distant and dangerous a Commerce. Upon this Advice, *Cortes*, desirous to make Advantage of the Opportunity, immediately sent a Commissary to *Vera-Cruz*, with Bars of Gold and Silver, under a sufficient Guard; and the Governor was ordered to buy the Arms and Ammunition as cheap as he could. The Governor managed the Matter with so much Dexterity, and raised such an Opinion of the Undertaking in which his General was engaged, that not only the Merchants sold what they had brought at a reasonable Rate, but the Captain of the Vessel, with the Master, and thirteen *Spanish* Soldiers, who came to seek their Fortunes in the *Indies*, went with the Commissary to the Camp, and joined the Army. This Notion of making Fortunes in the *Indies*, was very prevalent at that time, and still subsists among some who are eager to enrich themselves that Way; the Destruction of those who had been deceived, not in the least discouraging the Avarice of others.

WITH this Reinforcement, and some others which *Hernan Cortes* had received beyond all Expectation, he resolved to hasten the March of his Army; and indeed he could not now delay it any longer, or stay for the finishing the Brigantines; for the Troops of the Republick, with those of their Allies, were daily arriving, and, from their Inaction, he might reasonably apprehend some Inconveniencies.

He assembled his Captains, to deliberate upon what would be most proper for them to undertake with the Forces they had, for the Service of the grand Design, till such time as they should be joined by all the rest of the Troops, and were in a Condition to attempt the Recovery of *Mexico*: And after a long Debate upon Variety of Opinions, they resolved to march directly to *Tezeuco*, and, in all Events, to seize that City; which being situated in the Road from *Tlascala*, and almost on the Borders of the Lake, seemed very proper for a Place of Arms: It was a Post which they could fortify and maintain, and where they might easily receive the Reinforcements they expected, and make Inroads from it into the Enemy's Country: Moreover, it was a sure Retreat at a reasonable Distance from *Mexico*, to shelter them from the Accidents of War. It was also judged, that the Troops which were already arrived, were a Number sufficient for that Design; and tho' the Canals, by which the Waters of the Lake had a Communication with the City, seemed too narrow for the Passage of the Brigantines, they resolved to consider more at Leisure of that Difficulty afterwards, and to begin their March without any farther Delay.

THE Day after this Resolution, *Cortes* mustered his *Spaniards*, and found them five hundred and forty Foot, and forty Horse, with nine Pieces of Artillery, brought on Shore from the Vessels. This Parade was ordered in Sight of an innumerable Concourse of People, and had the Air of a general Review, by drawing the Attention of the Spectators from the numbering of the Men, to the Pomp of the Shew, in which nothing was omitted that served for Ostentation; as, the Finery of the Soldiers, Flying of Colours, Management of Horses, and the handling of their Arms, when they prepared

prepared to salute the General; and all was performed with so much Gallantry and Decorum, that the Multitude expressed their Satisfaction by repeated Acclamations: And the *Indian* Soldiers were instructed by their Example For *Xicotencal*, who was General of the Republick, would needs muster his Troops, not that this Method was ever practised by the *Tlascalans*, but only to make his Court to *Cortes*, by imitating the *Spaniards*; and first passed the Drums and Trumpets, with the rest of their warlike Instruments; then the Captains, in Files, gaily adorned, with large Plumes of various Colours, and Jewels hanging at their Ears and Lips; they carried their Macanas, or two-handed Swords, under the Left Arm, with their Points upward; and every one had a Page, bearing his Shield, on which were different Figures, expressing their own Exploits, and the Defeat of their Enemies; after their manner, they complimented the two Generals, and then the Troops marched by in different Bodies, distinguished by the Colour of their Plumes, and by their Ensigns; namely, the Figures of several Animals, which hanging at the End of their Pikes, served instead of Colours: The whole Army consisted of ten Thousand chosen Men; for tho' the Republick had provided a much greater Number, yet the rest of their Levies were left to assist in conducting the Brigantines, the Security of which was of so much Consequence, that the Senate took the engaging their Troops that way as a Favour, which might have been resented as a Slight.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA will have it, that the *Tlascalans* mustered eighty Thousand Men, in which he differs from *Bernal Diaz*, and other Authors; unless he included Troops of *Cholula* and *Guaxocingo*, which were encamped without the Town; for there

is no Doubt but *Hernan Cortes* marched out of *Tlafcala* with above sixty Thousand Men, not reckoning those who joined him on his March, or at the Place of Rendezvous, which were so numerous, that during the Siege of *Mexico*, he had under his Command above two hundred Thousand Men; and what renders this the more remarkable, is, that we have not been told of any Want they had of Provisions, or of the least Discord among so many different Nations, of any Confusion in the giving of Orders or of any Want of Exactness in obeying them. Much, indeed, was owing to the great Capacity and extraordinary Prudence of *Cortes*, but this Work could not be wholly his. It pleased God to reduce this Empire to his holy Law, and making use of him as an Instrument, he facilitated the Means which conduced to that End, disposing the Minds of Men for those Events which He had pre-ordained.

CORTES immediately published some Ordinances which he had formed at his leisure Hours, to prevent those Inconveniencies in War, by which it is wont to hazard, or lose its Character of being just. He ordered therefore, upon pain of Death, *That no Man should presume to draw his Sword against another, either in Quarters, or upon the March; That no Spaniards should abuse a confederate Indian, either by Word or Action; That no one should force, or otherwise abuse a Woman, tho' belonging to the Enemy; That no one should leave the Army, to go and plunder the Villages, without Leave, and a Number sufficient to execute the Undertaking; and, That they should not play away their Arms and Horses; in which Article, their Discipline had been a little too remiss.* And he particularly prohibited, on pain of Infamy and Degradation, all Swearing, Blasphemy, and

and other Abuses, which are generally introduced, as allowable, under the Title of Military *Licence*.

THE same Ordinances were signified to the Commanders of the *Indian* Troops; and *Cortes* himself was present when they were interpreted to them by *Aguilar* and *Donna Marina*, in order to make them understand, that the Penalties regarded all without Exception, and that the least of their Excesses would be punished with the utmost Rigour. This quickly went from the *Tlascalans* to the other Nations, and had so good an Effect, that from that Moment there appeared more Regularity in the *Indians* than before; tho' during the March, *Cortes* was obliged to wink at some things, and make Allowance for their Barbarism, and the Prevalency of Custom; but after the Punishment of two or three, the rest were reduced to better Discipline: and the Fear of being chastized, joined with the Care they took to conceal their Crimes, passed for a sort of Reparation to the Justice of the General.

UPON the Day of the March which was the Feast of the *Innocents*, after Father *Bartolomé de Olmedo* had said Mass, and addressed himself to God in a particular Prayer for the good Success of the Expedition, *Hernan Cortes* commanded the *Indians* to form themselves into gross Battalions, and after they were ranged in Order of Battle, he marched out of the Village at the Head of the *Spaniards*; and by their Example, shewed the *Indians* how to double their Files, with all the Leisure which that Movement requires, their overmuch Haste in beginning an Engagement generally bringing them into Confusion, and being one of their greatest Mistakes in War.

AFTER this, he called together the principal Commanders of the several Nations, and, by the

Help of the Interpreters, made them a short Exhortation: He recommended to them, *to animate their Men, by convincing them, that the present Undertaking concerned their common Interest, as being to fight for their own Liberty and that of their Country; to send all back who were not willing to stay; to take very particular Care to punish the Breach of Orders; and above all, to lay before them the Obligation they were under of following the Example of their Friends the Spaniards, both in their Actions of Valour, and in their Moderation.*

THEY went to put his Orders in Execution, and he returned to the Head of his own Men; who, by their Silence, shewed that they were prepared to hear him: *I do not pretend, my Friends and Companions, (said he) to make you sensible by vain Exaggerations of the Obligations you lie under to act in this Expedition like Spaniards; I have already had sufficient Proofs of your Courage, and have even envied the Gallantry of your Actions. What I am now to recommend to you, is rather under the Character of your Companion than your General, that we should all, with equal Care, consider this great Multitude of Indians, who follow us, and who regard our Cause as their own; which lays us under two Obligations, both worthy of our particular Attention. The first is, to behave towards them as Friends, and even to bear with them, if it be necessary, as Creatures of an inferior Degree of Reason; and the other is, to give them an Example by our Actions. You are sensible of the Orders which have been published to all, and the least Offence against them, amongst you, will be aggravated by the Addition of setting a bad Example; every one must consider the Influence his Transgressions may have, or else I shall be obliged to consider the important Influence of their due Punishment. I shall be extremely concerned, to find myself necessitated to proceed*

proceed with Rigour against the Man of least Account amongst you: but this Concern will be unavoidable; for I am resolved to be just, as well as patient. You are all sensible of the great Undertaking we have in hand; 'tis no less than the Conquest of an Empire for our King, and will be an Action worthy to be recorded in History. The Forces we already have, with those who are yet to join us, will be proportioned to this heroick Design; and God, whose Cause we defend, and who has hitherto miraculously supported us, will go along with us; nor is it possible to suppose, He will abandon an Enterprize, in which He hath so often declared Himself our Leader. Let us then follow Him, and not displease Him. And repeating again, Let us then follow Him, and not displease Him, he ended his Speech, and gave Orders for the March, with the Acclamations of his People; taking for good Prognosticks, the Satisfaction with which the Soldiers followed him, the extraordinary Accident by which the Number of his Spaniards was augmented, and the hearty Disposition of his Confederates. He considered all these together as a happy Presage of Success, not that he made much Account of such Observations; but the Understanding sometimes relaxes itself, that Hope may be diverted with the Dreams of the Imagination.

C H A P. X.

The Army marches, and overcomes some Difficulties. The King of Tezeuco sends an artful Embassy to Cortes; he returns an Answer of the same kind, and thereby gains Admittance into the City without Resistance.

THE Army marched that Day six Leagues and, at Sun-set, took up their Quarters in a Place called *Tezmeluca*, which, in the Language of the Country, signified a Grove of Oaks. It was a considerable Town situate on the *Mexican* Confines, and in the Jurisdiction of *Guaxocingo*, whose *Cazique* took Care to provide sufficiently for all the Troops, and a particular Regale for the *Spaniards*. The Day following, they continued their March in the Enemy's Country with all necessary Precautions. They received Advice, that the *Mexicans* were assembled on the other Side of a Mountain, whose Woods and Rocks rendered the Passage to the Road of *Tezeuco* very difficult; and because they came not to that Place till towards Evening, and it was not advisable to march thro' such broken mountainous Ground, when Night was approaching, the Army made a Halt, and lodged themselves as well as they could, making great Fires, which were scarce sufficient to preserve them from the intemperate Cold.

EARLY in the Morning they began to mount the Hill, and penetrate the Woods, keeping pace with the Artillery; but they had not marched much above a League, when the Van-guard returned with an Account, that the Enemy had stopped up the Way with Trees laid across, and sharp

Stakes,

Stakes, which they had fixed in the loose Sands to wound the Horses; upon which *Hernan Cortes*, who never lost any Opportunity of encouraging his Men, said to the *Spaniards* aloud, *These valiant People don't seem very desirous to meet us, since they take so much Pains to stop up the Way to them*: And without the least Delay, he ordered two Thousand *Tlascalans* to join the Van-guard, and clear the Road of all Impediments; which they executed with so much Expedition, that the Rear of the Army scarce seemed to stop. He likewise detached some Companies to search narrowly those Places which seemed proper for Ambuscades; and with all the Caution, that those Signs of a neighbouring Enemy required, the Troops continued their March two Leagues further to the Top of the Mountain.

FROM this Place they discovered the great Lake of *Mexico*, and upon this Occasion *Hernan Cortes* put his Soldiers in Mind of the Prosperity and Riches they had enjoyed, as well as of what they had suffered in that City, mixing the Good and Bad, that he might animate them to Revenge by the Incentives of Interest. They likewise discovered several Fires in distant Towns, succeeding one another with some Intermission: And tho' there was no Doubt but these were Signals made on the Discovery of the Army, they pursued their March, with little less Difficulty, and with the same Precaution; for the Way continued very bad, and the Woods were so thick, that they had but little open Ground.

BUT after they had overcome this Difficulty, they discovered, at a great Distance, the Enemy's Army, which took up all the plain, without making any Motion, seeming resolved to continue in a Post, from whence they could easily make a

Retreat. The *Spaniards* rejoiced at the Opportunity of coming so soon to Action, and the *Tlascalans* did the same; but the Joy of the latter streight turned to Fury, so that *Cortes* was obliged to make use of his Voice, and the Diligence of some of his Captains, to prevent their running into Disorder though an Eagerness to Fight. The *Mexicans* were on the farther Side of a great Barranco or Gap in the Earth, which must of Necessity be passed. It was made deeper by a Brook, which gathering all the Waters from the Mountains, ran through it, and was, at that Time, considerably swelled. The *Mexicans* had a little wooden Bridge over it, for the Use of Passengers, which they could easily have broke down, but had left on Purpose, as was afterwards supposed, that they might destroy their Enemies in that narrow Pass, thinking it impossible that they could ever form themselves on the other Side, when so vigorously opposed. After this manner they reasoned, when they were at a Distance from Danger; but when they discovered the Army of *Cortes*, which they had not believed to be so numerous, their Imagination was struck with less fantastick Notions. They wanted Courage to defend their Post, but desiring to affect a Shew of Valour, or at least to conceal their Fear, they began to retire by little and little without turning their Backs, seeming to distinguish betwixt a Flight and a Retreat.

CORTES advanced with speed, and when he came up to the Barranco, he esteemed it a piece of good Fortune, that the Enemy had quitted it; for notwithstanding the *Spaniards* found no Resistance, they had some Difficulty in passing it. He detached twenty Horse, and some Companies of *Tlascalans*, to keep the Enemy in Play, without engaging farther, until such time as the rest of his Troops should be all passed; but the *Mexicans* no sooner

sooner saw them drawing up on the other Side of the Barranco, but they laid aside all their Policy, openly flying and dispersing, some betaking themselves to the most unfrequented Paths, and others seeking Refuge in the Shelter of the Mountains.

CORTES did not care to lose Time in following the Chace, because 'twas of more Importance to possess himself speedily of *Tezeuco*; and whatever delayed that, was to be esteemed a Hindrance to the main Design. The Army, however, in their March, made some Slaughter of the *Mexicans* who had absconded in the Woods. The same Night the Troops quartered in a Place newly forsaken by the Inhabitants, within three Leagues of *Tezeuco*, where they doubled their Centries, and were, in a manner, all Night under Arms. But the next Day, at a little Distance from that Town, they discovered about Ten unarmed *Indians*, who were coming in Haste along the Road with the Appearance of Messengers, or Fugitives, and brought with them a Plate of Gold, in form of a Flag, hanging to the Top of a Lance, which was looked on as a Signal of Peace. The Chief of them came as Ambassador from the King of *Tezeuco*, desiring *Cortes* to spare his People and Country, acquainting him, that he desired to be his Confederate; for which End, he had provided good Quarters for all the *Spaniards*, in the City; and that the rest of the Nations under his Command, should be supplied with every thing that was necessary, without the Walls. *Cortes* put some Questions to him; and, as he came well instructed, he answered without Hesitation; adding, That his Master had just Reason to complain of the Emperor who then reigned in *Mexico*, who was about to execute his Revenge upon him by some Extortions, and other Oppressions not to be endured, for his having refused

fused him his Vote in his Election to the Empire; for which Reason he was minded to unite himself with the *Spaniards*, as one of the most interested in the Ruin of that Tyrant.

OUR Historians don't say, or at least, don't agree, whether the Brother of *Cacumazin*, whom we left Prisoner in *Mexico*, for conspiring against *Motezuma* and the *Spaniards*, reigned at this Time in *Tezeuco*. It has been already related how the Crown, and Electoral Vote, were bestowed on his Brother at the Recommendation of *Cortes*; and 'tis very likely, that the dispossessed Prince reigned at this Time, and that the new Emperor might think it very proper to restore him, on the account of his being a declared Enemy of the *Spaniards*: Which also seems agreeable with the Distrust conceived by *Cortes*; for he no sooner received the Embassy, but he stepped aside to confer with his Captains about the Answer. They all doubted the Sincerity of the Proposition, and thought it was too much to be expected from an offended Prince; but that, nevertheless, since they had already resolved to make themselves Masters of that Place by Force of Arms, it ought to be considered as a piece of good Fortune to have their Entrance free, which first Difficulty they should get over by accepting the Prince's Offer; and that, when once they were within the Walls, where they should be as much upon their Guard as if they had taken the Town by Assault, they might act as Occasion required. This Determination being made, *Cortes* dispatched the Ambassador, bidding him tell his Prince, That he agreed to the Peace, and accepted the offered Quarters, being desirous to correspond intirely to the good Intelligence with which he had sought his Friendship.

THE Troops continued their March, and lodged themselves that Night in one of the Suburbs of the City, or Village near adjoining; deferring their Entry till next Morning, that they might have the whole Day before them for an Enterprize, which, according to the Appearances, would not be over in a few Hours. One Ground of this Suspicion was, their finding the Place utterly forsaken by the Inhabitants; and another, no less considerable, was the Cazique's not appearing, nor any body from him, to visit *Cortes*: but there was no Sign of War, nor did any thing extraordinary happen, until at Sun-rise, *Cortes* made his Dispositions for attacking the Town, which he now thought unavoidable; tho' in a little time he perceived it to be unnecessary, for he found the City open, and without Defence. Some Troops advanced to seize the Gates, which they did without Resistance. *Hernan Cortes*, in a Readiness to fight, marched thro' the Streets, still observing the Appearances of Peace, while he suspected War. He advanced in the best Order he could, till he came into a large Square, where he drew up the greatest Part of his Men, and ordered the rest to possess themselves of all the Streets thereabouts. The Inhabitants, who appeared in Multitudes in several Places as they passed along, seemed frightened, and shewed in their Faces the Uneasiness of their Minds; and it was remarked, that none of their Women were to be seen; Circumstances which helped to confirm the first Suspicions.

It was thought proper to seize on the chief Temple, which, by its Height, commanded the whole City, and from whence might be seen the greatest Part of the Lake; and for this Service, *Cortes* ordered *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Christoval de Olid*, and *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, with some Fire-Arms,
and

and a sufficient Number of *Tlascalans*. They found that Post without Defence, and from the Top of the Temple discovered, that great Numbers of the Inhabitants were flying from the City, some by Land to the Mountains, and others in Canoes to *Mexico*, which plainly made appear the Treachery of the Cazique. *Cortes* ordered him to be sought, and brought before him; but was informed, that he had retired some little time before to the *Mexican* Troops with those few of his Men who were willing to follow him; who, as the Peasants said, were People of no Account: for the Nobility, and the greatest Part of his Vassals, abhorred his Government, and stayed behind, pretending they would follow him. It was discovered likewise, that he had resolved to treat the *Spaniards* well, until he had gained their good Opinion, in order to take Advantage of their Security, and introduce the *Mexicans*, who were to destroy them all in one Night; but when he was informed by his Ambassador of the great Force *Cortes* brought with him, he wanted Courage to go on with his Design, and thought it more adviseable to retreat, abandoning the City, and his Vassals, to the Discretion of his Enemies.

HERE Good-Fortune did as much as Industry and Valour could have done. *Cortes* desired to possess himself of *Tezeuco*, an advantageous Post for a Place of Arms, and necessary for his Enterprize; and the designed Stratagem of the Cazique gave him a free Passage into the City without the least Dispute; his Flight removed the Inconvenience of a continual Jealousy and Distrust; and the Discontent of his Subjects facilitated the Means of bringing them to be at his Devotion. When Affairs are to succeed, every thing hits right, and for this Reason *Fortunate* is justly placed among

among the Attributes of a General, whose prudent Dispositions are executed by Valour, but whose Prudence and Valour are both beholden to good Fortune. This word *Fortune* was ill understood by the *Gentiles*, or not understood at all. They adored *Fortune*, as a Deity, tho' fantastical and undistinguishing, always blind and Inconstant: but we understand by this Name, the free Gifts of Divine Beneficence: And thus the Idea of what is meant by prosperous Accidents, is rectified; *Fortune* reduced to its true Signification; and the Fortunate know the Spring of those Favours they receive.

C H A P. XI.

The Army being quartered in Tezeuco, the Nobles come and offer to serve in it. Cortes restores the Kingdom to the lawful Successor, leaving the Tyrant without any Hopes to re-establish himself.

THE first Care of *Cortes* was, to remove the Apprehensions which the People of the Country were under. He ordered the *Spaniards* to treat them gently, endeavouring to gain their Affections, since they ought to consider them as having already submitted; and this Order was published to the Confederate Troops with greater Preciseness by the Mouths of their Chiefs; whose Obedience was the more remarkable, because they were now in an Enemy's Country, well practised in the Violences of War, and flushed with the Presumption of being Conquerors: but such was their Respect to *Cortes*,
that

that they not only repressed their natural Ferocity, and evil Customs, but familiarized themselves with the Inhabitants, publishing Peace to them both by their Words and Actions. The Soldiers quartered that Night in the Palaces of the fugitive King, which were so capacious, that there was sufficient Lodgment for the *Spaniards*, and Part of the *Tlafcalans*, and the rest were quartered in the neighbouring Streets, without entering into the Houses, that they might not incommode the Inhabitants.

THE next Morning some of the Idol Priests came to solicit good Treatment for their Gods, returning Thanks at the same time for that which they had already experienced. They also acquainted *Cortes*, That the Nobility of that City waited his Permission to come and make an Offer of their Obedience and Friendship; which *Cortes* agreed to, without having any Occasion to affect being well pleased; for he very much desired what he granted. And, a little after, the Nobles came dressed, as they used to appear in their publick Solemnities, headed by a Youth of a genteel Mien, who spoke for the rest, and presented to *Cortes* this Troop of Soldiers, who came, he said, to serve in his Army, desiring to merit by their Actions a Shelter under the Shade of his Ensigns; to which he added a few more Words, expressed with such a Force and Gravity, as gained him at the same time both Attention and Respect. *Hernan Cortes* heard him with Admiration, and was so taken with his Eloquence, and good Behaviour, (together with the Advantage of this Offer) that without being able to contain himself, he took him into his Arms; but after having attributed this Excess of his Content to the Discretion of the young Man, he composed himself to return a sedate Answer to his Proposition.

THE rest came forward, and after the first Ceremonies of Respect were over, *Cortes* retired with him who came as their Leader, and some others of the principal *Tezeucans*; and calling for his Interpreters, was fully informed of all the *Cazique's* Dispositions in Favour of the *Mexicans*, the Artifice with which he offered to quarter the *Spaniards* in the City, and the Cowardice with which he turned his Back on the first Rumour of Danger: And lastly, they informed him, That the Person of the *Cazique* was so much abhorred by his Vassals, that instead of regretting his Absence, they rejoiced at it as a Happiness: A Disposition which *Hernan Cortes* endeavoured to confirm them in, because it imported him much, to make Advantage of this their Disaffection to their Prince, for the more secure Establishment of his Place of Arms; and the Answer they returned him was exactly agreeable to his Wishes. For the most Antient of the Nobles perceiving the End to which his Questions tended, informed him, *That Cacumazin, Lord of Tezeuco, was not the right Owner of that Country, but one of the most monstrous Tyrants that Nature had produced, having killed his elder Brother Nezabal with his own Hands, and seized his Crown; that the Prince who, as first of all the Nobles, had addressed him in the Name of all, was lawful Son of the murdered King, and that either his Youth, or the Contempt the Tyrant had of him, had been his Security; that he, being sensible of the Danger which threatened him, had so prudently concealed his Sense of the Injury done him, that his Disimulation passed for Want of Understanding; that all this Wickedness had been done with the Knowledge and by the Assistance of the Emperor of Mexico, who reigned before Motezuma, and that the present Emperor supported Cacumazin in like Manner, that he*

might

might make him his Instrument for the Destruction of the Spaniards. But that the Nobles of Tezeuco mortally abhorred his Violences, and the common People could no longer endure his Government; for that, instead of treating them like Subjects, he used them as his Slaves.

THUS did the old Man deliver his Thoughts, and Cortes had scarce heard him out, when it immediately occurred to him what was fit to be done. He went up to the dispossessed Prince with somewhat more of Respect, and placing him by his Side, he called together the rest of the Nobles, who were expecting his Resolution, and commanding his Interpreters to explain aloud what he said, spoke to them after this manner; *You have here before you, my Friends, the lawful Son of your lawful King. The unjust Master, to whose ill-acquired Power you pay a forced Obedience, seized the Sceptre of Tezeuco, with a Hand dyed in the Blood of his elder Brother; and, as the Art of preserving Dominion is unknown to a Tyrant, he has governed by the same Violence that he made himself a King; little caring how much he deserved the Hatred of his Subjects, provided he made them fear him, and treating those like Slaves who bore with his Crimes. But at last, by basely abandoning of you in Time of Danger, and neglecting your Defence, he hath at once shewed his own Want of Courage, and put it in your Power to redress your Misfortunes. I might, if I were not otherwise inclined, take Advantage of your defenceless Condition, and use the Rights of War, by subjecting this City, which I hold, as you see, at the Pleasure of my Sword: but 'tis with Difficulty that the Spaniards consent to do a Hardship; and as he that did us the Injury, was not really your King, you ought not to suffer as his Vassals, nor for his Offence, nor ought this Prince to remain without the Kingdom,*
which

which Nature bestowed upon him. Receive then from my Hand, the Prince whom you before received from Heaven. Pay him for my Sake that Obedience you owe him as the Successor of his Father, and place him on the Throne of his Ancestors; for, as I less regard my own Conveniency, than I do Equity and Justice, I desire his Friendship more than his Kingdom, and your Satisfaction, rather than your Subjection.

THIS Proposal of *Cortes* was received by the Nobles with great Applause. They were freed from their Fears, and at the same time obtained all that they desired. Some threw themselves at his Feet, extolling his Benignity, whilst others, more mindful of their natural Obligation, advanced to kiss the Hand of their Prince. The News was presently published through the City, and the Satisfaction of the People appeared by their Acclamations, Dances, and Plays, such as they used on their Festivals, with all other customary Demonstrations of their mad Joy.

THE next Day was appointed for the Coronation of the new King, which was celebrated with all the usual Ceremonies and Solemnities. *Hernan Cortes* assisted at it, as Dispenser or Donor of the Crown; by this Means sharing in the Applause of the People, and gaining a more absolute Empire over them, than if he had conquered them. This excellent piece of Conduct was one of those which justly acquired him the Character of a prudent General: For it was of the utmost Importance to him to secure this City, in order to pursue his Enterprize upon *Mexico*; and he found the Way of obliging the new King with the greatest of worldly Benefits; of interesting the Nobility in his Restitution, rendering them irreconcilable with the Tyrant; of gaining the Common People, by his Equity and Disinterestedness; and lastly, of

making his Quarters safe and secure, which by no other Means could have been effected. But his greatest Satisfaction was, that in redressing the Injury done to the young Prince, he followed the Dictates of right Reason; a Consideration to which he gave the Preference before all the other Advantages which attended this Part of his Conduct; it being much more agreeable to his Genius to do Acts of Generosity, than strictly to pursue the Measures which Prudence might direct for his Interest.

C H A P. XII.

The new King of Tezeuco is baptized with publick Solemnity; Cortes marches with Part of the Army to possess himself of the City of Iztapalapa, where he stands in need of all his Circumspection, to prevent falling into an Ambush prepared by the Mexicans.

HERNAN CORTES was applauded, and respected even to Veneration among those People: The Nobles declared themselves his Friends, and at the same time Enemies to the *Mexicans*: The City was intirely repeopled by the Return of those Families which had retired to the Mountains; and the Prince himself was so submissive and obsequious to *Cortes*, that he not only offered his Troops, and to serve in Person in the War of *Mexico*, but also took his Opinion in every thing he did: And tho', when he was among his own People, he commanded as a King, yet when he came into the Presence of *Cortes*, he appeared as a Subject,

Subject, and respected him as his Superior. He was about nineteen or twenty Years of Age, and had the Capacity of a Man born in a Country less barbarous. *Hernan Cortes* took Advantage of his good Disposition to introduce sometimes the Discourse of Religion; and found by his Attention, and Way of reasoning, a Kind of Propension to what was most safe, which gave him Hopes of bringing him over to Christianity: For he was displeased with the barbarous Sacrifices of the *Indians*, thought Cruelty to be a Vice, and confessed that those Gods who were to be appeased with the Blood of Men, could not be Friends to Mankind. Father *Bartolomè de Olmedo* bore a Part in these Conversations; and finding him not only wavering in his Errors, but inclined to the Truth, he brought him in a few Days to be capable of receiving Baptism; the Ceremony of which was performed publickly, and with great Solemnity, the Prince desiring to take the Name of *Don Hernando Cortes*, in Respect to his Godfather.

THEY were now at work upon the Canals which conveyed the Waters of the Lake to the City, and the Prince sent six or seven thousand of his Vassals to help to make them broader and deeper, according to the Measure of the Brigantines. And *Cortes* at the same time, desiring to undertake something to facilitate the Enterprize upon *Mexico*, resolved to advance with Part of his Forces to the City of *Ixtapalapa*, six Leagues forwards, that he might deprive the *Mexicans* of that Shelter for their Canoes, which very often came from thence, and disturbed his Workmen; and partly to give the confederate *Indians* some Employment, who were kept quiet in the midst of this Idleness by pure Force of Authority, and not without costing

ing him a good deal of tiresome Attention and Care.

THE City of *Iztapalapa* (as we have already observed) was situate upon the same Causeway by which the *Spaniards* made their first Entry into *Mexico*; and disposed after such a Manner, that the greatest Part of the Buildings (which were above ten Thousand Houses) was within the Lake, whose Water was brought into that Part of the Town, which was built on the Bank, by Trenches, with Sluices to let it in, as Occasion required. *Hernan Cortes* charged himself with the Care of this Expedition, and took with him the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Christoval de Olid*, with three Hundred *Spaniards*, and ten Thousand *Tlascalans*: and though the young King of *Tezeuco* was desirous to accompany him, he would not permit it, telling him, his Presence would be more useful in the City; the military Government of which he left to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and with both of them such Instructions as he thought necessary for the Security of their Quarters, and to obviate the Accidents that might happen in his Absence.

THEY presently began their March by the Causeway, with a Design to possess themselves first of that Part of the City which was built upon it, and dislodge the Inhabitants from the other Part with their Artillery and Fire-Arms, as Occasion should offer. But the Enemy was immediately informed of their Motions, and the Army was no sooner come within Sight of the Place, than they discovered a Body of about eight Thousand Men at a little Distance from the Walls, who came out to defend them with so much Resolution, that tho' they found themselves inferior in Number, they stood the Engagement, and fought with Bravery enough to retire with some Reputation; which they

they did in little Time to the City, where, without staying to defend the Entrance, or shut the Gates they instantly disappeared, throwing themselves into the Lake in Disorder, but with the same Cries and Menacing Gestures which they used in fighting.

HERNAN CORTES was sensible, that this Kind of Retreat had the Appearance of a Stratagem to draw him into some greater Danger; and therefore marched his Army into the City with all possible Precaution; but he found all the Houses upon the Land utterly abandoned: and tho' the Noise and Cries of the Enemy continued in that Part which stood in the Water, he resolved, with the Advice of his Captains, to maintain himself in the Post where he was, and lodge within the Walls, without attempting any Thing farther, the Day being too far spent. But it scarce began to be dark, when they perceived the Canals every-where to overflow, the Water running impetuously to the lower Grounds. Cortes immediately understood that the Enemy's Design was to drown this Part of the City, which they might easily do, by opening the Sluices of the great Lake; and as the Danger was inevitable, he was obliged to give instant Orders to quit the Place; and tho' they made all the Haste possible, the Water came above their Knees.

CORTES was very much mortified, and dissatisfied with himself, that he had not prevented this Stratagem of the *Indians*, as if it was possible, with the utmost Vigilance, to provide against all Accidents, or human Foresight had not its Bounds. He drew out his Army into the Road of *Texeuco*, to which Place he thought to retire, deferring the Enterprize of *Ixtapalapa* to a more favourable Opportunity; for it was impracticable at this Time,

without a greater Force on the Lake-Side, and some Vessels to drive the *Mexicans* from that Place. The Troops lodged that Night, as well as they could, on a little Hill free from the Water; where, nevertheless, they suffered very much, being very wet, and without any Defence against the Cold; but in such good Heart, that there was not the least Murmur heard among the Soldiers: And *Cortes*, who went among the Ranks infusing Patience by his Example, strove by threatening Discourses against the Enemy either to cover his own Uneasiness at having been deceived, or to divert the Soldiers from calling his Prudence into Question.

At the first Appearance of Day, he continued his Retreat, and hastened the March of his Men, rather to keep them warm, than from any Fear he had of a new Attack; but as soon as it was broad Day, they discovered a Body of innumerable Enemies, which came in Pursuit of the Army. *Cortes*, notwithstanding this, marched on, but more slowly; his Design was to weary the Enemy by prolonging the Chace; tho' the Soldiers moved on very unwillingly: they all cried out to halt, that they might take Satisfaction, some for the Affront, and others for the Hardships they had suffered, according to the different Passions by which they were animated; but all with a Spirit of Vengeance against their Enemies.

WHEN *Cortes* thought it convenient, he ordered his Troops to halt and Face about, and the Enemies began the Attack with the same Precipitation that they pursued; but the *Spanish* Cross-Bows (for the Powder having suffered by the Water, the Fire-Arms were of no Use) and the Bows of the *Tlascalans*, gave a Check to their first Fury, and at the same time the Horse charged them, making

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Room for the Confederate Troops, who intirely broke that disorderly Multitude, and obliged them to leave the Field with considerable Loss.

CORTES pursued his March, without stopping to make any further Slaughter of the Fugitives, because he had a mind to reach his Quarters before Night: But the Enemy, no less diligent in rallying than retiring, advanced a second and third time to the Attack, without being in the least terrified with the great Slaughter they had sustained; till such time as, fearing to approach too near to *Tezeuco*, where the whole Strength of the *Spaniards* lay, they marched back to *Iztapalapa*, sufficiently chastized for their Boldness, having lost in the three Attacks, Six thousand Men; and tho' Cortes had some wounded, he lost only two *Tlascalans*, and one Horse, who, covered with Arrows and Cuts, yet lived to bring off his Master.

CORTES, and all his Army, celebrated this Beginning of their Revenge, as a Satisfaction for what they had suffered; and a little before Night they entered the City of *Tezeuco*, with the Glory of three or four Victories obtained by the Way, which gave a Reputation to the Expedition, and covered the Disgrace of the Retreat.

It can't be denied, but that the *Mexicans* laid their Design well: they sallied out to provoke the Enemy; suffered themselves to be charged in order to engage them; feigned a Retreat to draw them into Danger; abandoned their Houses, which they endeavoured to lay under Water; and had provided a great Force to secure the Success. Let those who discredit this War with the *Indians*, now consider whether their Armies were, as they say, Herds of Cattle, and whether they wanted Understanding to make a Disposition, since they allowed them a brutal Courage to execute. *Hernan Cortes* stood in need of his utmost Diligence

to escape their Snares, and not only admired, but even envied their well-concerted Stratagem; these Policies or Deceits by which Enemies are surprized, being what Soldiers much glory in, esteeming them not only reasonable, but just; and more particularly, when the War is just in which they are practised: But in my Opinion, it is sufficient to call them permitted, tho' in some Respects they may be likewise styled just, as when punishing Carelessness and Inadvertency, which are the greatest Faults, that can be committed in War,

C H A P. XIII.

The Provinces of Chalco and Otumba apply to Cortes for Relief against the Mexicans. He orders Gonzalo de Sandoval, and Francisco de Lugo, upon that Expedition; they overthrow the Enemy, and take some Prisoners of Rank, by whose means Cortes makes Propositions of Peace to the Mexican Emperor.

WHILST Cortes remained in Tezeuco, he received frequent Visits from the neighbouring Caziques, and other Indians, who came to make their Submissions, and offer him the Assistance of their Troops. They all complained of the Emperor's ill Treatment, by whose Soldiers they were oppressed and plundered, and treated with equal Contempt and Inhumanity. Among the rest, there came at that time Messengers in great Haste from the Provinces of Chalco and Otumba, with an Account that there was a powerful Army of

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of the Enemy upon their Frontiers, who had Commission to chastise and destroy them, for having made an Alliance with the *Spaniards*. They expressed a Resolution to oppose the *Mexicans*, and desired some Succour to assist in their Defence. This Request appeared not only reasonable, but necessary to be granted; for it imported *Cortes* very much not to suffer the *Mexicans* to fix themselves in a Place where they might cut off his Communication with *Tlascala*, which was to be preserved at all Hazards. He immediately dispatched *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and *Francisco de Lugo*, with two hundred *Spaniards*, Fifteen Horse, and a sufficient Body of *Tlascalans*, among whom there were some who had obtained Permission by their Importunity to retire to their own Country, and secure the Spoils they had acquired in the War; a Permission which *Cortes* thought fit to grant, because as he expected a fresh Recruit of Troops from the Republick, it behoved him to allure those People by the Hopes of Interest, and this Shew of Liberty.

THESE miserable Wretches having thus changed themselves from Soldiers into Porters, marched along with the Baggage of the Army; and as Avarice regulated the Weight of their Burdens, they had so overloaded themselves, that they could not always keep up with the Troops, but were forced to stop sometimes to take Breath. The *Mexicans*, (who, with the Army they had upon the Lake, had planted several Ambuscades in the Fields of Maiz) being advertised of this, fell upon them in one of their Resting-places, with a seeming Design not only to plunder them, but by their great Cries, and forming their Battalions, to provoke the *Spaniards* to a Battle. *Sandoval* and *Lugo* returned immediately to their Relief, and hastening their March, fell upon the Enemy so opportunely
and

and vigorously with their whole Force, that they turned their Backs as soon as they were attacked.

FIVE or Six *Tlascalans*, who were disarmed and embarrassed with their Burdens, perished upon this Occasion; but the *Spaniards* recovered all the Booty, with some additional Spoils of the Enemy. They continued their March, taking Care not to leave again behind them those unuseful People; with whom they were incumbered, till the Army, having passed the Province of *Chalco*, approached the Frontiers of *Tlascala*, where they separated from it to go and secure their Baggage, freeing *Sandoval* from any further Care of their Defence.

THE *Mexicans* had assembled all the Troops of the neighbouring Provinces to chastise the Rebels of *Chalco* and *Otumba*; and knowing that the *Spaniards* were coming to the Relief of those two Nations, they had reinforced themselves with Part of the Troops quartered about the Lake; and having thus prepared a very formidable Army, had posted themselves on the Road the *Spaniards* were to pass, with a Resolution to try their Strength in the Field. *Sandoval* and *Lugo*, being advertised of their Design, and having given what Orders they thought necessary, advanced in Order of Battle without altering their Pace. But on Sight of the Enemy, the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* halted, (the former with a calm Intrepidity, and the latter with an Impatience hardly to be restrained) in order to examine more narrowly the Intention of that Body of Troops. The *Mexicans* had the Advantage in Numbers; and with the Ambition of being the first to attack, advanced in Crowds, according to their Custom, and made the first Discharge of their missive Weapons without any Effect. The two Captains, taking Advantage of their Confusion, (after they had received them with their Fire-Arms

Arms and Cross-Bows) ordered the Horse to advance, whose Attack (always terrible to the *Indians*) immediately made Room for the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* to enter, and break this disorderly Multitude with a very great Slaughter. The Flight of the Enemy soon became universal, and the Troops of *Chalco* and *Otumba*, which had sallied out of the neighbouring Town on the Noise of the Battle, coming up at the same Time, the Chace was so bloody, that the *Mexican* Army was intirely defeated, and the two Confederate Provinces succoured, with little or no Loss.

EIGHT of the most considerable Prisoners were reserved, in order to get some Information from them, and the Army pass'd that Night to the City of *Chalco*; whose Cazique, after he had paid his Respects to the *Spaniards*, went before to prepare their Quarters, with great Abundance of Provisions, and Refreshments for all the Troops: Nor did he forget to have the Victory celebrated with Rejoicings, after the usual extravagant Manner of the People. The Inhabitants of *Chalco*, as Subjects of the *Mexican* Emperor, were Enemies to the *Tlascalans*, and had besides perpetual Disputes with them about the Bounds of their Frontiers; but this Night all their Quarrels were forgot at the Desire of the *Chalqueses*, who owned the Obligation they had to the *Tlascalans* for coming to their Relief, and were also sensible, that the Means of preserving the Protection of *Cortes*, was to maintain a Friendship with his Confederates. The *Spaniards* were Mediators in the Treaty; and the Chiefs of both Nations being assembled, Peace was concluded with all the necessary Forms and Solemnities usual on such Occasions; *Sandoval* and *Lugo* undertaking to get it confirmed by *Cortes*,
and

and the *Tlascalans* to have it ratified by the Republick.

THIS Affair being finished with so much Glory and Expedition, *Sandoval* and *Lugo* marched back with the Army to *Tezeuco*, accompanied by the Cazique of *Chalco*, and some other principal *Indians*, who desired to return Thanks in Person to the General for the Succour he had sent them, and to offer him what Troops the two Provinces could furnish. The Army was received at *Tezeuco* with great Acclamations of Applause, and *Cortes* honoured the two Captains with particular Marks of his Approbation, without forgetting the Chiefs of the *Tlascalans*: He likewise caressed the Nobles of *Chalco*, accepting their Offers, and intimating that he would give them Notice when their Service would be necessary. After this, he ordered the eight *Mexican* Prisoners to be brought before him; he received them in the midst of his Captains, putting on an Air of Severity. They approached full of Fear and Confusion, shewing in their Countenances a dejected Spirit, and a Mind ill-disposed to receive the Punishment, which, according to their own Customs, they believed inevitable. *Cortes* ordered them to be unbound, and desiring to make use of this Opportunity to justify to his Allies the War, which he had undertaken, by making farther Advances towards a Peace, and at the same time to convince his Enemies of his Generosity, he spoke to them, by the Help of his Interpreters, after the following Manner: *I might, according to the Custom established in your Nation, and that kind of Justice upon which the Laws of War are founded, take Satisfaction of your Offences with Fire and Sword, treating you with the same Inhumanity, with which you treat your Prisoners. But the Spaniards do not think, that the being taken in the Service of one's King is a Crime*

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Crime that deserves Punishment; for we know how to distinguish between the Culpable and the Unfortunate; and that you may be sensible of the Difference between our Clemency and your Cruelty, I give you at the same time both Life and Liberty. Repair immediately to the Standard of your Prince, and tell him from me, (for, as you are noble, you ought to observe the Law with which you receive the Benefit) That I am coming to demand Satisfaction of him for the unjust War he made upon me at the Time of my Retreat from Mexico, perfidiously breaking that Treaty by which I obliged my self to leave the City; but chiefly to revenge the Death of the great Motezuma, the principal Motive of my Anger. Tell him, I have an Army, not only augmented with a Number of invincible Spaniards, but that I have likewise under my Command all the Nations who abhor the Mexican Name; and that in a little time I intend to seek him in the midst of his Court, bringing with me all the Rigours of a War that has Heaven to favour it, resolved never to lay aside so just an Indignation, till I have laid all the Towns of his Empire in Ashes, and drowned the very Remembrance of his Name in the Blood of his Subjects: But that nevertheless, if for the avoiding his own Ruin, and the Desolation of his Country, he shall incline to Peace, I am ready to grant it upon reasonable Conditions; for the Arms of my King (like the Lightnings of Heaven) hurt only where they find Resistance, and are always more ready to obey the Dictates of Humanity, than the Incitements of Revenge.

THE General having concluded his Discourse, appointed a *Spanish* Escort for the eight Prisoners, and ordered a Bark to carry them back by the Lake. The Prisoners, scarcely persuaded of their Good-fortune, threw themselves at his Feet, promising to acquaint their Prince with his Overtures,
and

and to contribute all that lay in their Power, towards facilitating the Peace: but they did not return with any Answer; nor did *Hernan Cortes* make these Advances, with a Belief that the *Mexicans* would incline to Peace; but for a further Justification of the War he had undertaken, and to raise the Reputation of his Clemency among the Barbarians; a Virtue useful to Conquerors, because it disposes favourably the Minds of those they design to subject, and appearing always amiable, even to Enemies, either gains the Applause of those who have the Use of Reason, or forces a Respect from those who have it not.

C H A P. XIV.

Gonzalo de Sandoval conducts the Brigantines to Tezeuco. Whilst they are finishing, Hernan Cortes marches out with Part of his Army to view the Borders of the Lake.

AT this time *Cortes* had an Account that the Brigantines were finished; and *Martin Lopez* sent him Word, That he would quickly set forward with them, the Republick of *Tlascala* having provided ten Thousand *Tamenes*, or Carriers of Burdens; eight Thousand to carry the Planks, Masts, Iron-work, and other necessary Materials, and two Thousand as a Relief for those who tired, without including in this Number the Men who were employed in carrying Provisions and Ammunition; and fifteen or twenty Thousand Soldiers, with their Officers, who waited this Opportunity to join the Army. He sent word, that he intended

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to set out with these Forces next Day, and that he would stay in the last Town of the *Tlascalans* to expect a Convoy of *Spaniards*, not thinking it advisable to attempt the dangerous Passage thro' the *Mexican Territories* without a greater Force. These Brigantines were the only Preparation wanting to lay close Siege to *Mexico*, and *Hernan Cortes* received this News with so much Satisfaction, as caused a general Joy in the Army. He immediately ordered *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with two Hundred *Spaniards*, fifteen Horse, and some Companies of *Tlascalans*, to march and join the Forces of the Republick, that they might be in a Condition to resist any Attempts of the *Mexicans*.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA says, there marched out of *Tlascala*, with the Materials of the Brigantines, a Hundred and eighty Thousand Soldiers; which being so very unlikely, we must believe it to be one of the Errors of the Press. *Bernal Diaz* says fifteen Thousand, which is much more probable, considering the Number of *Tlascalans* already in the Army. The Republick gave the Command of this Body to a Cazique of one of the Quarters of their City, whose Name was *Chichemecal*, a young Man of Twenty-three Years of Age, but of such a superior Spirit and Courage, that they already considered him as one of the most considerable Captains of their Nation. *Martin Lopez* marched out of *Tlascala*, resolving to wait the *Spanish* Escorte in *Gualipar*, a Town but little distant from the *Mexican Frontiers*. *Chichemecal* was not pleased with this Delay, persuading himself that he had Force and Courage sufficient to defend the Convoy against all the Power of *Mexico*: However, he at last resolved to observe the Orders of *Cortes*, and thought this Instance of his Obedience a great Exploit. *Lopez* regulated the March, so that all
went

went out of the Town in good Order; the Archers and Slingers, supported by some Pike-Men, marched in the Front; after whom came the *Tamenés* with all their Baggage; and the rest of the Troops formed the Rear: And after this manner they began that extraordinary Affair of carrying Vessels by Land, which (if it were permitted us to use Metaphors, which are sometimes met with in History) might be said to begin now to float upon the Shoulders of Men, among the Waves formed by the different Movements, which the Inequality of the Ground occasioned. An admirable Invention of *Cortes*, then put in Practice! but which, when related, looks more like a Dream than a Reality.

In the mean time, *Gonzalo de Sandoval* set forward for *Tlascala*, and stopped one Day in *Zulepeque*, a small Town at a little Distance from the Road; which refused Obedience, and was besides the very Place where those poor *Spaniards* of *Vera-Cruz*, who were going to *Mexico*, were betrayed and murdered. He had Orders, either to chastize or subject that Town in his March; but the Army had no sooner turned their Faces that Way, than the Inhabitants abandoned the Place, and fled to the Mountains. *Sandoval* sent three or four Companies of *Tlascalans*, with some *Spaniards*, in Pursuit of the Fugitives; and entering the Town, his Anger and Impatience increased at the lamentable Marks he met with of their past Barbarity: on one of the Walls he found these Words written with a Coal, *In this House the unhappy Juan Juste was taken, with many others his Companions*. And a little after, in one of their Temples, he found the Heads of those *Spaniards* dried in the Fire to preserve them from Corruption: A dreadful Spectacle! which giving a fresh Idea of their terrible Death, made the Images and Representations of
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the Devil appear still more hideous. At this Sight, Pity inspired them with Rage, and *Sandoval* resolved to march out with all his Men, and revenge that execrable Cruelty with the utmost Rigour. He had already given his Orders, when the Companies which he had before detached, returned with a great Number of Prisoners, Men, Women, and Children, having killed upon the Mountains all who endeavoured to escape, or did not immediately surrender. These miserable Wretches, bound, and almost dead with Fear, testified their Repentance by Tears, and pitiful Out-cries; they threw themselves at the Feet of the *Spaniards*, and quickly moved them to Compassion. *Sandoval* made his Officers intreat him, that the Prisoners might set the greater Value upon their Pardon; and, in fine, he caused them to be unbound, and accepted their Submissions; the *Cazique*, and the most considerable Men among them, engaging for the whole Town, to be obedient to the King: of which Engagement they afterwards discharged themselves very faithfully, either through Fear or Acknowledgment.

AFTER this, *Sandoval* ordered his Men to gather up the miserable Remains of the sacrificed *Spaniards*, and give them Burial; and continued his March to the Frontiers of *Tlascala*, where he arrived without any considerable Accident. *Martin Lopez* and *Chichemecal*, with the *Tlascalans* drawn up in Rank and File, came forth to receive him: The two Armies saluted each other by Discharges and Shouts, and afterwards by Embraces, and particular Civilities. Some necessary time of Rest was allowed to the Troops newly arrived; after which, *Sandoval* directed the March, giving the Van-guard to the *Spaniards* and *Tlascalans* which came with him, the Main Body to the *Tamenes*,

with sufficient Numbers to defend their Flanks; and *Chichemecal* with his Troops brought up the Rear: But the young Man was displeased, that he was not placed in a more advanced Post; and his Discontent went so far, as to give *Sandoval* Suspicion of his quitting the Army; so that he was obliged to go to him, and take some Pains to satisfy him. He endeavoured to make him comprehend, that his Post was the most honourable, as being the most dangerous; for that in all Probability the *Mexicans* would endeavour to fall upon the Rear. But this did not in the least satisfy him; on the contrary, he replied, *That as at the Assault of Mexico, he intended to be the first that should set his Foot within the Breach, he desired always to march in the Front, and give an Example to his Troops*: So that, in fine, *Sandoval* was obliged to march with him, to add to the Honour of the Rear. A remarkable Point of Vanity! and one of those which are wont to produce the greatest Inconveniencies in Armies; for the principal Duty of a Soldier is Obedience, and true Valour has its Bounds prescribed by Reason, which always carries a brave Man to face the Dangers which approach him, with an unshaken Resolution, but doth not in the least oblige him to go to seek them.

THE Army marched in the same Order it at first set out, thro' the Enemies Country; and tho' the *Mexicans* shewed themselves sometimes upon distant Hills, they did not venture to come to an Engagement, but thought their Cries and Menaces a sufficient Exploit.

AT a little Distance from *Tezeuco* the Army made a Halt, out of Complaisance to *Chichemecal*, who desired some Time of *Sandoval* to adorn himself with his best Feathers and Jewels, and ordered all his Officers to do the same; telling them,

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That as they were now drawing near to Action, Soldiers ought to celebrate such a Season as a Festival: A Rhodomontade well enough becoming his Pride and Years. *Hernan Cortes* went out of the City, attended by the King of *Tezeuco*, and all his Captains, to receive this so much desired Succour; and after he had caressed the Chiefs, and allowed some Time for the Acclamations of the Soldiers, he made his Entry with all Solemnity: The *Tamenes* marched in Files like the Soldiers; the Planks, Iron-work, and other Materials, where stored separately in a great Workhouse, prepared for that Purpose near the Canals. The whole Army rejoiced at the safe Arrival of these Preparations so necessary for the Conquest of *Mexico*, which was equally desired by all. *Cortes* returned Thanks to God, who rewarded the Piety of his Intentions with Hopes, or rather Assurances, of Victory.

MARTIN LOPEZ immediately applied himself to the second Part in the Formation of the Brigantines, and had new Workmen appointed him for the joining of the Planks, and other Work belonging to the building of a Ship. But *Cortes* understanding by the Master-Workmen, that it would be at least Twenty Days before the Brigantines could be fit for Service, he resolved to employ that Time in viewing personally the Country about the Lake, and what Posts were fit to be seized, to prevent any Succours from *Mexico*; and withal, to do what Damage he could to the Enemy in his March. He communicated this Design to his Captains, and it being approved by all, he immediately made a Disposition to execute it; leaving *Sandoval* Governor of *Tezeuco*, with particular Orders to forward the building of the Brigantines. This Captain was qualified for every thing; and, by the Multitude of Business in which *Cortes* employed him,

him, he sufficiently shewed the great Opinion he had of his Courage and Capacity.

WHILST Cortes was considering what Officers and Troops to take with him on this Expedition, *Cbichemecal* desired an Audience; and, without knowing that Preparations were making to take the Field, told him, *That Men like him, born for War, were ill satisfied with living idly in their Quarters, especially after having passed five Days without drawing the Sword; That his Men were refreshed, and desired to shew themselves to their Enemy; and that, moved by their Instances, and the Ardour of his own Courage, he humbly requested to be ordered immediately upon some Expedition, wherein he might give Proofs of his Valour, and divert himself with the Mexicans, until the Time came of compleating their Destruction, at the Assault of their City.* Cortes had already resolved to take him with him, but this unseasonable Vanity displeased him, and as he was not very well satisfied with his Behaviour upon the Road, (of which *Sandoval* had informed him) he answered him in a kind of Raillery, *That he had not only concluded upon an Action of Importance, wherein he might assuage that Ardour which inflamed him; but that he was likewise resolved to accompany him, to be a Witness of his Exploits.* Cortes had a natural Dislike to arrogant Boasters, true Valour being seldom seen without Modesty: Nevertheless, he was sensible that these Transports of Bravery were proper to his Years, being the Effects of youthful Blood, and the common Fault of young Soldiers, who have met with Success in their first Trials, and whose want of Experience makes them think Valour to be Fool-hardiness, and Fool-hardiness to be their Profession.

C H A P. XV.

Hernan Cortes *marches to Yaltocan, where he meets with Resistance; he overcomes that Difficulty, and goes forward with his Army to Tacuba; and after having vanquished the Mexicans in several Engagements, makes his Retreat.*

IT was thought proper to begin the Expedition by the taking of *Yaltocan*, a Town five Leagues distant from *Tezeuco*, upon one of the little Lakes which discharged itself into the great one. It was of Importance to chastize the Inhabitants of this Place, because some few Days before they had returned an insolent Answer, and wounded the Messengers who were sent to them with Offers of Peace, and to require their Obedience; and because their Punishment might have an Influence upon the rest of the *Indians* thereabouts. Cortes began his March after having heard Mass, (whereat all the *Spaniards* assisted) leaving particular Instructions with *Sandoval*, and giving some friendly Advice to the King of *Tezeuco*, *Xicotencal*, and other Chiefs of the Nations who stayed behind in the City. He took with him the Captains *Pedro de Alvarado* and *Christoval de Olid*, with two Hundred and Fifty *Spaniards*, Twenty Horse, and a splendid numerous Body of the Nobles of *Tezeuco*. *Chibemecal* likewise attended him with his fifteen Thousand *Tlascalans*, to which were joined five Thousand Men of those commanded by *Xicotencal*. They had not marched above four Leagues, before they discovered the *Mexicans* drawn up in Order of Battle, and divided into several gross Battalions, with a Design, as it seemed, to defend in the open

Field the Place threatened. But upon the first Discharge of the Fire-Arms, and Cross-Bows, which was followed by an Attack of the Horse, they were put into such Disorder, that being charged by the whole Army, they were utterly broken and defeated in so short a time, that it was scarce perceivable they made any Resistance; the greatest Part saved themselves upon the Mountains, others threw themselves into the Lake, and some retreated to the Town of *Taltocan*, leaving a great Number of Dead and Wounded upon the Field of Battle, and some Prisoners, who were immediately sent to *Tezeuco*.

THE Assault upon the Town was deferred till the next Day, and the Army possessed themselves of some Houses that stood near, where they passed the Night without any extraordinary Accident. When Day appeared, they found the Difficulty of the Enterprize greater than they imagined: the Town was situated in the very Lake, and had a Communication with the Land by a Causey, or Stone-Bridge, the Water being likewise easily forded in that Place: But the *Mexicans* who guarded that Post, had broke the Causey, and had besides made a ditch so deep, that it was impossible to pass over it any other Way than by swimming. *Cortés* advanced full of Assurance to carry the Place at once, and when he found this unhappy Obstacle in his Way, he was for a while both confounded and vexed, but the Raileries and Scoffings with which the Enemy celebrated their Security, made him see that he could not desist from his Undertaking, without manifest Hazard to his Reputation.

He was contriving how to fill up the Ditch with Fascines and Earth, when one of the *Indians* of *Tezeuco* gave him to understand that a little higher up there was a Shoal, where the Water scarce covered

vered the Ground. *Cortes* took the Man along with him for a Guide, and immediately marched to the Place: The Depth of the Water was tried, and though found greater than was related, yet not unfordable. He ordered two Companies of about fifty or sixty *Spaniards* to make the Experiment, with such a Number of the Allies as he thought necessary to make head against the Troops he saw advancing to dispute the Passage. He remained himself on the Shore, with his Army drawn up, that he might send Succour as Occasion required, and secure the Field against any Eruption of the *Mexicans*.

THE Enemy perceiving that our Army was going to gain this Passage, which they had endeavoured to conceal, advanced to defend it with their Slings and Arrows, wounding some Soldiers, and giving enough to do to those who fought in the Water, which in some Places took them up to the Middle. Near the Town there was a pretty large Plain, free from Water, and our Men with Fire-Arms, who marched in the Front, were no sooner landed, but the Enemy retired into the Place, and in the little Time that the rest of the Detachment were coming ashore, they intirely quitted it, throwing themselves into their Canoes with so much Haste, that the *Spaniards* entered the Town without Opposition. The Pillage did not last long, (though permitted, as a Part of the Chastisement) because the Inhabitants had left nothing in their Houses, but what they could not carry off; some Loads, however, of Corn and Salt were transported to the Army, together with a great Quantity of Cotton-Cloths, and some slight Jewels and Gold, which the Owners either forgot, or despised. The Captains had no Orders to keep Possession of the Town, but to punish the Inhabitants; and there-

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fore, staying only so long as was necessary to perform their Commission, they re-passed the Ditch at the same Place, having first set fire to the Temples, and principal Buildings. The General approved of this Conduct, believing that the Flames of this Place would strike Terror into the Fugitives, and be a Warning to the neighbouring Towns of the Danger that threatened them.

THE Army continued their March, and lodged that Night near *Colbatitlan*, a considerable Town, which the next Day they found dispeopled. The *Mexicans* shewed themselves, but in a Place where they could neither attack, nor be attacked. The same Thing happened at *Tenayuca*, and afterwards at *Escapuzalco*, large Towns situate upon the Lake-side, which they also found forsaken. The Army lodged a Night in each of them, and *Cortes* took exact Notice of the Distances, and of whatever else might be useful to his Design, without suffering any Damage to be done to the Buildings, that it might be seen he used Rigour only where he found Resistance. The City of *Tacuba* was not above half a League distant from this last Place, and disputed with *Tezeuco* for Largeness, and Number of Inhabitants. It was situated upon the Extremity of the great Causeway, where the *Spaniards* had formerly suffered so much, and was a Post of great Importance, as being, of all the Towns upon the Lake, the nearest to *Mexico*, and the Key of the Road which the Army must necessarily pass, in order to form the Siege of that capital City; but at the present the General had no Thoughts of possessing himself of it, by reason it was too far from *Tezeuco* for Succours to come to him from thence. His Intention was only to view it, and to consider attentively what Measures of Prevention and Caution were to be taken, when the Time came of chastising

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sing the Cazique for his former Injury; whose exemplary Punishment would be of great Use to quell the Insolence, and facilitate the Subjection of the Inhabitants.

THE Army advanced in the same good Order as if they were marching to a much more difficult Enterprize, and before they arrived at the Place they discovered a great Body of Troops, without Number, composed of those *Mexicans* who had all along observed the March of the *Spaniards*, and of others who were appointed to assist the Garrison of *Tacuba*. The City not being able to contain all these Troops, they were desirous to attempt the Defence of its Walls, by a Battle in the open Field. All their Battalions advanced at once, and charged with so much Fierceness, and such loud Cries, as might have given Concern to Men less acquainted with the deceitful Appearances of their first Attacks; but having received the Discharge of the Fire-Arms, (which always struck more Terror than it did Hurt) and being further terrified by the Horse, they were easily disordered, so that the rest of the Army coming up, routed their Vanguard, and pierced to the very Centre of the Multitude; notwithstanding which, they obstinately disputed the Victory for a considerable Time: But at last they all turned their Backs, the greater Part flying to the City, and the rest taking different Paths, with no other Thought, but how to avoid the Danger.

THE *Spaniards* remained Masters of the Field of Battle, and employed the remaining Part of the Day in chusing an advantageous Post, where they might lodge themselves during the Night; but at Break of Day the Enemy appeared again in the Field, with a Design to retrieve the Honour they had lost the Day before. The General ranged his Troops, and giving the same Orders he had done
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the preceeding Day, overthrew them with great Facility, as having the former Defeat and Flight fresh in their Memory.

CORTES pushed them with Sword and Pike into the very City, and following close at their Heels with the *Spaniards*, and some Companies of the Allies, maintained the Fight in the inner Part of it, until Night approaching, he drew off his Troops to their former Lodgment; permitting the Soldiers to plunder some Houses they had taken Possession of, and leaving them in Flames, partly to shew his Indignation, and partly to keep the Enemy employed, that he might make his Retreat without Opposition.

CORTES remained five Days in his Post near *Tacuba*, where the Enemy made him a Visit every Day, and were always beat back to the City. His Intention was to waste the Garrison by these Sallies, and, finding by the Abatement of their Ardour, and the Faintness of their Efforts, that their Numbers were greatly diminished, he resolved to attack them in his Turn. Orders were already given, and every Thing disposed for the Assault, when he saw a very considerable Body of *Mexicans* advancing upon the Causey. It was necessary to defeat this Succour, before he could carry on his Designs against the Town. He resolved therefore to expect them at a Distance from the Causey, that he might engage them, when they were all drawn up upon the main Land, and make the greater Slaughter of them in a Place where they would be so streightned in their Retreat; but these *Mexicans* had Orders (and it was said, from the Emperor *Guatimozin*) to send some Troops before the rest, who suffering themselves to be charged, and then retreating, should entice the *Spaniards* to the Pursuit, and endeavour to draw them upon the Causey. This Design they compass'd

compass'd with notable Dexterity; for some of them advancing in Disorder to the main Land, and forming themselves after a confused Manner, *Cortes* mistook their contrived Stratagem for the Effect of Fear; and leaving Part of his Army to make head against the Garrison of *Tacuba*, marched directly to the Causey, supposing that he should easily rid himself of these Enemies, and so be able to return to the Assault upon the City. The *Mexicans*, who were advanced upon the firm Land, turned their Backs upon the first Approach of the *Spaniards*, and fled to join the rest of their Troops; the whole Body of which, as seemingly terrify'd, retired by little and little, in order to draw the *Spaniards* upon the Causey. The General, led away by these favourable Appearances, pursued them without making sufficient Reflection; for it was not long since the Accident of *Iztapalapa*, nor could he be ignorant, that by these feigned Flights the *Indians* often drew their Enemies into Ambuscades; but the frequent Repetition of Victory (sometimes dangerous to Conquerors) did not, at that Time, permit him to consider all the Circumstances that distinguish between a pretended and a real Fear.

THE *Mexicans* rallied and made head, when they perceived *Cortes* and his Troops within the Causey; and whilst they endeavoured to keep him in Play by their Resistance, innumerable Canoes sallied out of *Mexico*, and invested both Sides of the Causey, so that the *Spaniards* were at once attacked both in Front and Flank. *Cortes* being now sensible of his Imprudence (though somewhat late) found it necessary to retire, with-holding his Men from advancing further upon the Causey, and making a Front to the Canoes on each Side. The Enemies were furnished with Pikes very dangerous, some of them being armed with the Points of the Swords taken from

from the *Spaniards* the Night of the Retreat. Many of our Men were wounded, and they were very near losing a Pair of Colours; for in the Heat of the Fight, Ensign *Juan Volante* fell into the Lake by a Blow of a Pike; and the *Indians*, who were nearest, seizing upon him, put him into a Canoe with a Design to present him to their Emperor: He suffered himself to be carried away, feigning to submit; but when he found himself at a sufficient Distance from the rest of the Canoes, he recover'd his Arms, and disengaging himself from those who guarded him, by killing some of them, he threw himself into the Water, and swam ashore with his Colours, with equal Bravery and good Fortune.

CORTES, with Sword in Hand, exposed himself to the greatest Dangers, and brought off his Troops, with little Loss, to the firm Land; having sufficiently revenged himself upon the *Indians* for their Deceit in drawing him upon the Causey; upon which, and in the Lake, their Loss was as great as they could have sustained in a fair and open Battle: But judging it Rashness to return to the Enterprize upon *Tacuba*, in spite of the *Mexican* Reinforcement, (which always kept in View) he thought of retiring to *Tezeuco*, which, with the Approbation of his Captains, he presently put in Execution. The *Mexicans* did not venture to quit the Causey, or their Canoes, 'till such Time as the Distance of our Army gave them Courage to follow afar off; contenting themselves with sending forth great Cries, in which fruitless Fatigue all their Revenge ended. This Expedition was of great Importance, as well for the Damage done to the *Mexicans* in the several Engagements, as for the Knowledge the *Spaniards* gained of this Part of the Country, of which it would be necessary afterwards to make themselves Masters.

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Masters. And although our Historian endeavours to obscure the Glory of it, it was of such great Consequence to *Cortes* with respect to his main Design, that he no sooner arrived at *Tezeuco*, but the *Caziques* of *Tucapan*, *Mascalzingo*, *Autlan*, and of other Towns upon the North-side of the Lake, came to make their Submission, and offer the Assistance of their Troops. A sure Sign that the *Spaniards* came back with Reputation, which is an Acquisition of the greatest Advantage in War, and which gains upon the Minds of Men, what Force of Arms cannot obtain without great Difficulty.

C H A P. XVI.

A fresh Succour of Spaniards arrives at Tezeuco. Sandoval marches to the Relief of Chalco; defeats the Mexicans twice in the open Field, and takes the Towns of Guastepoque and Capistlan.

THE Prosperity of so many Successes was almost an evident Proof, that Heaven was interested in the Conquest of this Empire; nor could some favourable Accidents, wherein human Diligence had no Share, be possibly thought to come from any other Hand, being so well adapted to present Necessity, and so much beyond all Expectation. A Vessel of considerable Burden, sent to *Hernan Cortes*, arrived at this Time at *Vera-Cruz*, and in her *Julian de Alderete*, Native of *Tordesillas*, with the Character of the King's Treasurer; Father *Pedro Malgareio de Urrea*, a Regular of the Order of *St. Francis*, born at *Seville*; *Antonio de Caravaial*,
Geronimo

Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota, Alonzo Diaz de la Reguera, and several other Soldiers of Distinction, with a very considerable Succour of Arms, and other Necessaries. They immediately march'd to *Tlafcala*, (the Ammunition being carried on the Shoulders of *Zempoalan Indians*) and there they had an Escort given them to conduct them safe to *Tezeuco*, they themselves carrying thither the first News of their Arrival.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO says, That this Vessel came directly from *Spain*: And *Antonio de Herrera*, who makes Mention of it, does not say who sent it, desiring, perhaps, to conceal his Ignorance by that Omission. It seems very unlikely, that it should come to *Cortes* from *Spain*, without bringing Letters from his Father, and his Agents; and more especially at a Time when they might have informed him of the good Success of their Negotiations, which Account, according to these Authors, he did not receive till a long Time after. I am inclined to believe, as more probable, that it came from *Santo Domingo*, whose Governors *Cortes* had informed of the Difficulties he was engaged in, as has been before observed; and the coming of a Treasurer for the King, does not in the least conclude any Thing to the contrary; for it was properly within the Jurisdiction of those Governors to name such Officers as were to collect the Fifth due to the Emperor; and their Authority extended over all those Conquests. But from whence soever this Succour came, it could not have arriv'd more opportunely; nor did *Cortes* miss to discern the true Source of it, attributing to God not only his good Fortune in the Augmentation of his Forces, but the very Vigour of Mind, which he perceived in himself, and that marvellous Constancy, which though agreeable enough to his natural Courage,

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yet seem'd to him at this Time the immediate Effect of a Heavenly Influence.

AT this Time there arriv'd Messengers, dispatch'd in great Haste to *Cortes* from the Caziques of *Chalco* and *Thamanelco*, to demand Succour against a powerful Army, which the Enemy were providing in *Mexico* for subjecting the Towns of their Districts, which adhered to the Interests of the *Spaniards*. *Guatimozin* had a great Inclination to Arms, and, as appeared by other Parts of his Conduct, applied himself intirely to the Arts of War. He was continually contriving Means to get the Victory over his Enemies, and had considered that there was no better Way to compass his Design, than by seizing on that Frontier, whereby he might cut off the Communication with *Tlascala*, and prevent any Succours coming from *Vera-Cruz*; a Point of so much Consequence, that *Cortes* found himself absolutely obliged to protect these Allies, to whose Fidelity he owed the Preservation of this necessary Pass free from the *Mexicans*. He immediately dispatched *Gonzalo de Sandoval* to their Relief, with three hundred *Spaniards*, twenty Horse, and some Companies of *Tlascala* and *Tezeuco*, amounting to such a Number as he thought sufficient, the Troops of those Provinces being already in Arms.

SANDOVAL made no Delay, but march'd with so much Diligence, that his Succour arriv'd very opportunely: The Caziques had assembled all their Troops, which, join'd to those of *Sandoval*, made a very considerable Body. The Enemy was not very far off, their Army having lodged the Night before at *Gualtepeque*, and it was resolv'd to attack them before they entered upon the Territories of *Chalco*. In the mean Time, the *Mexicans*, depending upon the Number of their Forces, and having learnt

learnt that the *Spaniards* were come to the Support of the *Chalqueses*, possess'd themselves of some *Barancas* or hollow Ways, in order to wait the Coming of our Troops in a Place where they might be secure against the Horse. The *Spaniards* were sensible of the Difficulty, when they came to the Charge; and *Sandoval* stood in Need of all his Resolution, and all the Valour of his Troops, to dislodge the Enemy from that Post, which they did with Sword in Hand, but not without some Loss; for on this Occasion died bravely fighting a *Spanish* Soldier, called *Juan Dominguez*, much esteemed in the Army for his singular Skill in the managing of Horses.

THE *Mexicans* lost a great Number in this Dispute; however, they thought themselves strong enough to rally and draw up upon the Plain: But *Sandoval*, having soon overcome the Difficulty of the Passage, attacked them so briskly, that he broke them before they could form. The Vanguard of the Enemy continued the Fight for some Time with desperate Fury; and if their Resistance had lasted a little longer, this Combat might have been called a Battle; but this disorderly Multitude soon gave Way, and dispersed, and the *Spaniards* followed the Pursuit with so much Vigour, that the *Mexicans* lost the greatest Part of their Troops. *Sandoval* remained Master of the Field, and chose a Place for his Army to halt in, and take a little Rest, resolving to advance that Night to *Guaspeque*, whither the greatest Part of the Fugitives were retired.

BUT scarce had the Troops began to enjoy the Repose they so much wanted for the Recovery of their Strength, when the Scouts, who had been sent out to view the Avenues, returned, and gave the Alarm so warmly, that it was necessary to form
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the Army with all Expedition. A Body of fourteen or fifteen Thousand *Mexicans* were advancing in good Order, and were so near, that the *Spaniards* could hear the Sound of their Drums and Horns. These Troops were supposed to be sent as a Reinforcement to those which had marched from *Mexico* before, because it was impossible for the latter, who had been intirely broken, to have formed themselves in such good Order in so short a Time, nor was the bold Air with which they advanced, consistent with the Terror of such a Defeat. The *Spaniards* advanced to receive these New-comers, and attacked them so seasonably, that putting their Front in Disorder, they made Way for the Horse to charge without any Risk; who, according to Custom, made such a Slaughter of the Enemy, that they were soon obliged to turn their Backs, flying in Confusion to the Town of *Guasstepeque*, where they believed themselves in Security; but the *Spaniards* followed them so close, (killing all they overtook) that they entered the Place at the same Time with the Fugitives, and maintained the Entrance, till the rest of the Troops coming up, they divided themselves into the several Streets, and with Sword in Hand drove the Enemy out of the Town. The *Mexicans* lost great Numbers by their obstinate Resistance, and the rest who fled, were so terrified, that in a little Time there was not one to be seen thereabouts.

THIS Town was so large, that *Sandoval* was resolved to quarter there that Night, and the *Spaniards*, with the greatest Part of their Allies, lay under Cover. The Victory was the more joyful, because the Soldiers were allowed to plunder, provided they took nothing that was burthensome, or would embarras them in the Use of their Arms. The Caziq̃ue of the Town, and some of the principal

cipal Inhabitants, came a little after, and made their Submission, excusing what was past by the Force put upon them by the *Mexicans*, and shewing their Sincerity by coming unarmed, and surrendering themselves to the Discretion of the Conquerors. The *Spaniards* received them courteously, and after *Sandoval* had sent out to view the Country, which was found quiet, he resolved, with the Approbation of his Captains, to make his Retreat: But the People of *Chalco*, who had better Spies abroad, received Advice, that the *Mexicans*, who had escaped from the past Engagements, were all joined in *Capistlan*, and protested to him, That to retreat now, was to leave them in the same Danger from which he came to deliver them. Upon this News, he thought it necessary to go and disperse this Body of Fugitives, before they should be reinforced with fresh Troops.

CAPISTLAN was but two Leagues distant from *Guatepeque* on the Side of *Mexico*. The Town was strong by Nature, being seated upon the Top of a great Rock, difficult of Access; with a River on the other Side, which running with Rapidity from the neighbouring Mountains, washed the Precipices of the Rock. When the Troops came up, they found the *Mexicans* prepared for their Defence, and that they had covered all the Top of this Eminence with Soldiers; who celebrated their Security with loud Cries, and discharging some Arrows, not so much to wound, as to irritate the *Spaniards*: *Sandoval* resolved to drive the Enemy from this Post, that he might leave the neighbouring Provinces free from any Fear of a new Invasion; and finding there were only three Ways by which he could make the Attack, which were equally difficult, he ordered the Troops of *Chalco* and *Tlascala* to advance first, as People more accustomed to those rugged Passes.

But

But they did not obey with the same Readiness they used to do, shewing by the Slowness of their Motion, that they thought the Difficulty of this Undertaking superior to their Force; so that *Sandoval*, impatient of Delay, threw himself into the Danger at the Head of the *Spaniards*, which so animated the *Indians*, that finding by his Example the Unreasonableness of their Fear, they advanced by the most difficult Parts of the Rock, mounting it with more Ease than the *Spaniards*, and fighting with equal Bravery. The Way was so steep in some Places, that they could not make Use of their Hands, without Fear of their Feet slipping, and the Stones which the Enemy rolled down from the Top, wounded more than their Darts and Arrows: Nevertheless, the Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows cleared the Way for the Pikes and Swords, and the Assaultants, by their Valour and Constancy, forcing their Way against all Opposition, gained the Top of the Hill at the same Time that the *Mexicans* were retiring into the Town, so dispirited, that they scarce made a Disposition to defend it, or defended it so weakly, that they were driven to the Edge of the Precipice, where all that did not fling themselves down, were put to the Sword; and the Slaughter was so great upon this Occasion, that for a while (according to the most exact Relations) there ran Streams of *Mexican* Blood into the River, in such Abundance, that the *Spaniards*, who went down to quench their Thirst, were obliged to refrain from drinking, or to do it with Horror.

SANDOVAL had his Armour broke in two Places by Stones, and some *Spaniards* were very much wounded; among whom *Andrez de Tapia*, and *Hernando de Osma*, were the most considerable, or best deserved to be remembered. The Confederates suffered most; because that Part of the Rock by which

they attacked was very difficult to mount, and they ran upon the Danger more precipitately.

SANDOVAL having gained three or four Victories in so short a Time, and the *Mexicans* being defeated and chased out of those Provinces that needed the Protection of his Arms, he began his March the next Day for *Tezeuco* by the same Road he came, and arrived there without any Opposition.

As soon as the News of his Retreat was brought to *Mexico*, the Emperor sent a new Army against the Province of *Chalco*, which plainly shew'd the great Desire he had to cut off the *Spaniards* Communication with *Tlascala*. The *Chalqueses* had News of this Invasion, at a Time when they could have no Dependence but upon their own Arms; and assembling in Haste the Troops they had ready, with those they could get from their Allies, they took the Field with more Resolution than formerly, and observing a better Order in the Disposition of their Men. The two Armies advanced towards each other, and fighting with equal Bravery, the Battle was long and bloody; but in the End the *Chalqueses* gained the Victory, and tho' they lost great Numbers in the Action, they slew more of the *Mexicans*, and remained Masters of the Field. The News of this Victory was received with great Applause at *Tezeuco*; and *Cortes* was particularly pleased, to find that his Allies were in a Condition to support themselves, and that their own Forces were sufficient to defend them. This happy Success was principally owing to their Valour, but the Order and good Discipline which they observed in the Fight, did much contribute to the Victory, and it was of great Importance to those People to have been Conquerors in other Battles, wherein they lost the Fear they had conceived of the commanding Nation,

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Nation, and by the Help of the *Spaniards* had discovered the Secret, that *Mexicans* could be beaten like other Men.

C H A P. XVII.

Cortes marches out of Tezeuco, to view the Lake on the Side of Suchimilco: He has two dangerous Engagements with the Enemy, who had fortified themselves upon the Mountains of Guastepeque.

CORTES could have wish'd, that *Sandoval* had not returned without penetrating as far as *Suchimilco* upon the Lake, which was but a few Leagues distant from *Guastepeque*, it being of great Importance to take a View of that City, where there was a very broad Causeway, which joined the principal ones that led to *Mexico*. And as the finishing of the Brigantines would still take up some Time, he resolv'd to employ it in this Expedition. He also considered the Advantage of covering the Passage to *Tlascala*, and animating the People of *Chalco*, who seem'd apprehensive of new Invasions. *Cortes* charged himself with the Execution of this Design, taking with him *Christoval de Olid*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, *Andres de Tapia*, and *Julian de Alderete*, with three hundred *Spaniards*, and such Troops of *Tezeuco* and *Tlascala*, as he judg'd necessary, supposing he should find the Caziq of *Chalco*, with his Allies in Arms.

In his Absence, he left the Military Command with *Sandoval*, and the Civil with the Caziq *Don Hernando*, who was always submissive and affectionate,

nate; and though his Age and Genius inclined him to more active Employments, he had sufficient Understanding to know, that it was more meritorious to obey.

HERNAN CORTES set out from *Tezeuco*, on the 5th of *April* 1521, and hearing no News of the *Mexicans*, marched with so much Diligence, that he arrived the next Night at *Chalco*, where he found the Confederate *Caziques* assembled in the City, and under an Alarm, because they did not expect any Succour from the *Spaniards*, and had discover'd on the Side of *Suchimilco* a new Army of *Mexicans*, much stronger than any of the former, who were coming with a Design to ravage and possess themselves of their Country. The Demonstrations of their Joy were equal to the Trouble they were in before: They threw themselves at the Feet of the *Spaniards*, and lifted up their Eyes to the Heavens to the favourable Disposition of which (according to their Ideas) they attributed this sudden Change of their Fortune. Cortes intended to make Use of their Arms, and therefore leaving them in the Opinion, that he was come only to succour them, he did what he could to recover them out of the Fright they had conceived, and by applauding their Victory, to give them a high Conceit of their own Bravery.

THESE *Caziques* had their advanced Centries and some Spies in the Enemies Country, who passing the Word from one to another, gave Notice continually of the Enemies Motions; and by this Means they understood, that the *Mexicans*, being informed of the Arrival of the *Spaniards* at *Chalco*, had made a Halt upon the Mountains, which were in the Way, divided their Troops, to garrison some Fortresses on the Tops of those Eminences that were

were most difficult of Access. This Conduct of the *Mexicans* might have been designed, either to conceal the Number of their Troops, till such time as *Cortes* should retire, that they might afterwards fall upon his Allies; or, what seems more probable, to wait the Coming of their Enemies, in a Place where they had the Advantage of the Ground: But in both these Cases it seemed absolutely necessary to attack them in their Fortifications, That no Time might be lost in marching to *Suchimilco*.

WITH this Resolution the Army marched the same Night to a Town, deserted by its Inhabitants, at the Foot of the Mountain, where it was joined by the Troops of *Chalco*, and of the adjacent Country: A numerous Body of good Soldiers, which animated the rest of the Nations, who were advancing to the Defiles in some Concern. At the first Appearance of the Day, they began to enter the Mountains, by a narrow and difficult Path, between two Ridges of Rocks. Some *Mexicans*, who came to provoke the *Spaniards*, shewed themselves upon the Tops of the Rocks on both Sides. The Army marched slowly on, filing off, as the Nature of the Ground required, till they came to a Plain, at an Opening of the Hills, which at some Distance closed again. Here *Cortes* formed his Men as well as he could, having discovered on the highest Eminence, a considerable Fortrefs, where the Enemy had lodged themselves in such Numbers, as might have struck a Dread, though in a less advantageous Post. Their Design was to provoke the *Spaniards*, and draw them on to the Attack, in the Midst of those Precipices, where the Difficulty of the Way was no less dangerous than the Arms of the Enemy.

CORTES was stung to the Quick by the insulting Railleries of the Enemy, who laughed at his Delay, nor could he bear with Patience their Reproaching the *Spaniards* with Cowardice; so that, giving Way to Anger (seldom a good Counsellor) he marched his Troops to the Foot of the Mountain, where, without staying to chosse the least difficult Path, he ordered two Companies of Musqueteers and Cross-Bows to advance to the Attack, under the Command of Captain *Pedro de Barba*, accompanied by some Soldiers of particular Distinction, who voluntarily offered themselves, among which was our *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who, not satisfied with the Reputation of Valour he had already established, put in for a Share in every difficult Undertaking.

THE *Mexicans* retired as the *Spaniards* mounted the Hill, feigning to be in some Disorder, that they might entice them on to the most dangerous Part of the Precipice; which they had no sooner effected, but they returned, with most horrible Cries, letting fall from the Top such a terrible Shower of great Stones, and intire Rocks, as barred up the Way, after having borne down every Thing it met with. This first Charge did great Damage, and it would have been much greater, if Ensign *Christoval del Coral*, and *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who advanced before the rest, had not retired to the Hollow of a Rock, and advised the rest to halt, and leave the Path, it being impossible to go on, without falling into greater Danger. The General was sensible that there was no continuing the Attack that Way; and fearing they would all have perished, sent them Orders immediately to retire, which they did with the same Danger. This Action cost the Lives of four *Spaniards*; Captain *Pedro de Barba* was

was hurt, and many others wounded. *Cortes* was inwardly fretted at this Disgrace, as being in Effect owing to his own Imprudence; but in Publick he called it the Chance of War, hiding the Weakness of his Excuses with Menaces against the Enemy.

HE strait resolved to advance with some of his Captains, in search of a less dangerous Path, whereby to gain the Top of the Mountain: And to this Resolution he was equally carried, by a Desire of revenging his Loss, and by the Inconveniency of continuing his March with the Enemy at his Back. Nevertheless, he could not put this Design in Execution; for at the same time he discovered an Ambuscade, which gave him an Opportunity of coming sooner to an Engagement. A Body of the Enemy's Troops, which had been posted on the other Side of the Mountain, coming down and possessing themselves of a Wood near the Road, watched an Opportunity to charge the Rear of the *Spaniards*, when they should see them engaged in the Defilées; and had also given Notice to those above, to come down and attack the Van-guard at the same time: And this Stratagem of the Barbarians shows, what Masters Hatred and Malice are, in the Arts of War.

HERNAN CORTES caused his Troops to make the same Movement, as if he designed to continue his March, laying open his Flanks to the *Mexicans* in Ambuscade; and when he thought they were secure, turned short upon them: But they fled so nimbly, and were so favoured by the Thickness of the Woods, that he did them little Damage; and perceiving at the same time, that the Fugitives took the Road of *Guatepeque*, he detached his Cavalry for the Pursuit, and made the Infantry advance some Paces. This Motion served to discover, that the

the *Mexicans* above had abandoned their Fort, and were following the March of the *Spaniards* by the Tops of the Mountains; so that the Inconvenience of leaving the Enemy behind now ceasing, the Army pursued their Way without any other Opposition, than the Cries of the Enemy, till about a League and a half forward, they came to another Fortrefs like the former, which the *Mexicans* had garrisoned; and though their Cries and Menaces sufficiently provoked the General, it was too near Night, and he had a fatal Experience too fresh in his Memory, to engage with them anew, without further Precaution.

His Army encamped near a little forsaken Village on the Top of an Eminence, from whence they could discover the neighbouring Mountains. The Soldiers suffered very much in this Place for want of Water; and Thirst was an Enemy, alone sufficient to disturb their Hours of Rest. In the Morning they found Relief from some Springs, which were not far from the Camp; and *Cortes* commanding the Army to follow him, advanced to view the Fortrefs, of which the Enemies had possessed themselves, and found it more inaccessible than the former: For the Road in going up made several Turns, and was throughout exposed to the Darts of the Enemy. But observing another Eminence within Musket-shot, which the Enemy had neglected, he commanded *Verdugo*, *Barba*, and *Alderete*, to mount with the Musketeers, and seize it, in order to embarrass the *Mexicans* in their Defence of the other Hill. This was presently put in Execution, by taking a Road covered from the Enemy, who frightened at the Number of Men who were killed by the first Discharge of the Fire-Arms, thought only of retiring to a considerable Town joining to their Fortrefs. The *Spaniards* below
guessed

guessed the Truth of what had happened by the ceasing of the Enemies Cries; and as they were preparing for the Attack, had Advice from the neighbouring Height, that the *Mexicans* had intirely abandoned their Fort, and were flying to the distant Parts of the Country: so that *Cortes* thought it unnecessary to take a View of that Post, which he did not design to keep, and was of no Importance after it was quitted by the Enemy.

BUT before the Army renewed their March, they discovered several Women on the Top of the Hill, calling out for Peace, hanging out white Cloths, which they waved up and down, and accompanying these with other Signs of Submission, that obliged *Cortes* to send for them. The Cazi que immediately came down, and offered his Obedience, submitting not only the Fort where he resided, but the other also which they had left behind, and which belonged to his Jurisdiction. He made an Apology with the Air of a Man that spoke Truth, and laid all the Blame of the Resistance the Army had met with upon those Mountains, on the *Mexicans*, who were too powerful for him. *Hernan Cortes* admitted his Excuses, either that he believed them true, or that he thought it not a proper Time to examine them strictly. The Cazi que seemed very much concerned, that he should pass through his Territories without receiving the Submission of his Vassals; and *Cortes*, to satisfy him, was obliged to send two Companies of *Spaniards* to take Possession in the Name of the Emperor, according to the Custom observed at that Time.

AFTER this Ceremony was over, which did not detain them long, the Army marched on to *Guastepaque*, a populous Town, which *Gonzalo de Sandoval* had left in Peace, and which they found as full of
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Inhabitants, and as well stocked with Provisions, as if it had been a Time of Peace, or they had suffered nothing by Oppression from the *Mexicans*.

THE Cazique with the principal Inhabitants came to wait upon *Cortes*, to assure him of his Obedience, and invite him to accept of a Lodging he had prepared for the *Spaniards* in his own Palace, and other Lodgings in the City for the Commanders of the Confederate Troops; promising to supply the rest with all necessary Provisions, which he accordingly performed with great Prudence and Liberality.

HIS Palace was so sumptuous a Building, that it might vye with those of *Moteczuma*, and so large, that all the *Spaniards* were lodged in it with Ease. In the Morning he carried them into a Garden he kept for his Diversion, (nothing inferior to that of *Ixtapalapa*) whose Spaciousness and Fertility the *Spaniards* greatly admired, because it far exceeded their Expectation, and was afterwards spoke of as one of the Wonders of that new World: It was above half a League long, and near as much in Breadth; the Ground was level and uniform, and regularly divided into Plats, with all the Fruit-Trees and Plants, which that Country produced, with several great Ponds which received the Water of the neighbouring Mountains, and several Squares after the Manner of Parterres full of Flowers, and medicinal Herbs, cultivated with great Care, and placed in exact Order; the Work of a powerful Lord, who had a Taste of Agriculture, and had studied to heighten the Beauties of Nature with the Ornaments of Art.

CORTES endeavoured to engage this Cazique in his Interest by some Presents; but receiving Advice, as he was entering into the Garden, that the

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Enemy were expecting him at *Quatlavaca*, (a Town lying in the Way he was to pass) he took but little Pleasure in the Beauties of the Place, and gave Orders for the Army immediately to march, not without some Concern that he had staid longer than he ought. For such is the Nature of Care, with great Difficulty to admit of Interruption; and if for a while diverted, to return again with greater Violence.

C H A P. XVIII.

The Army passes on to Quatlavaca, where the Mexicans receive a new Defeat; from thence to Suchimilco, where Cortes surmounts a great Difficulty, and is in Danger of being lost.

QUATLAVACA was a populous Town, strong by Nature, situate between Barrancas, or Breakings of the Earth above eight Fathoms deep, which served as a Ditch to the Place, and Passages for the Water that descended from the Mountains. The Army arrived at this Place after having subdued all the Towns which lay in their Way without any Difficulty. The *Mexicans* had cut down the Bridges, and covered the Banks with such a Number of Soldiers, that the Passage seemed impossible. But *Cortes* drew up his Army at a convenient Distance, and while the *Spaniards* and Confederates endeavoured to divert the Enemy with their Fire-Arms and Arrows, he went to view the Barranca; and finding it at some Distance lower much narrower, he immediately ordered two or
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three Bridges to be made of Trees cut at the Root, which reached from one Side to the other, and which laid together as well as was possible, made a Way, though somewhat dangerous, for the Infantry to pass. The *Spaniards* of the Van-guard, leaving the *Tlascalans* to keep the Enemy in Play, immediately passed over, and formed a Battalion on the other Side of the Ditch, which was continually augmented by the Allies. But the *Mexicans*, who were quickly sensible of their Negligence, poured down upon those that had passed with so much Resolution, that they had much to do to keep their Ground; and the Success had been very doubtful, if *Cortes* had not opportunely arrived, followed by *Olid*, *Alvarado*, and *Tapia*, who, whilst the Foot were getting over, had found out a Passage for the Horse, which though a very difficult and dangerous one, was of great Use in the extreme Danger to which the *Spaniards* were reduced.

THE Horse wheeled about in order to charge the *Mexicans* in the Rear, which they did, assisted by some Foot brought to their Succour by *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*; who, pushed on by his Courage, had passed the Ditch by the Means of two or three Trees which were fallen down by their own Weight, and lay across the Barranca. Several *Spaniards* quitted the Skirmish to follow the Example of *Diaz*, as did a considerable Number of *Indians*, who all mixed with the Horse, when they made their Charge.

BUT the *Mexicans*, who now saw the Danger that threatened them in the midst of their Fortifications, gave themselves for lost, and dispersing, fought only to escape in the best Manner they could to the Mountains. They lost great Numbers, both in the Defence of the Ditch, and in their Flight; nevertheless, the greatest Part saved themselves
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among the Rocks and Precipices, where it was not possible to pursue them. The Town was found intirely abandoned, but with good Store of Provisions, and some Spoils, which were given to the Soldiers. A little after, the Cazique, and some of the chief Inhabitants, who were willing to submit, called to the *Spaniards* from the further Side of the Ditch, desiring Leave to return to the Town, and prepare Quarters for the Troops; which was immediately granted, and they were of Use afterwards, rather by the Notice they gave of the Enemy's Motions, and by their Knowledge of the Country, than for any Want the *Spaniards* had of their Offers, or any Dependence they had on their Excuses, the Neighbourhood of *Mexico* keeping them in a necessary Subjection.

EARLY the next Morning the Army took the Road of *Suchimilco*, a Place which deserved the Name of a City, seated on the Edge of a Fresh-Water Lake, which had a Communication with the great Lake; the Buildings were partly on the Land, and partly in the Water, where a great Number of Canoes served them to pass from Place to Place: It was of great Importance to take a View of this Post, which was within four Leagues of *Mexico*: but the March was very troublesome; for after they had passed a Defilée three Leagues long, they came into a barren dry Country, where the Soldiers suffered very much for want of Water; the Fatigue of the March, and the Heat of the Sun, increasing their Thirst to such a Degree, that at their Entrance into a Forest of Pines, they were insensible of any Relief from its Shade.

NEAR the Road they found some Houses within the Jurisdiction of *Suchimilco*, built for Farm-Houses, or for Pleasure, by the Inhabitants of that Place. Here the Army lodged, and enjoyed that Night
the

the Rest and Refreshment they so much wanted. The Enemy had purposely quitted them, to wait the *Spaniards* in a stronger Post. *Cortes* drew up his Army in Order of Battle at Break of Day, and began his March, expecting to meet with a good deal of Difficulty in his present Enterprize; it not being likely, that the *Mexicans* would leave *Suchimilco*, a Post of so great Importance, and so near to *Mexico*, without a strong Garrison, especially since all those who had escaped from the past Engagements, were retired to that Place.

His Conjectures proved right; for the Enemy (the Relation of whose Numbers may be true, but shall be omitted as improbable) had drawn up their Battalions in a Plain at some Distance from the City, having a great and rapid River in their Front, which discharged itself into the Lake. They had double-lined the Banks of this River, and disposed their main Body for the Defence of a wooden Bridge, which they would not cut down, having barricaded it with Planks and Fascines, and supposing, that though this Fortification should be forced, they should have a sufficient Advantage in the Narrowness of the Pass, and be able to destroy their Enemies as fast as they came over the Bridge.

HERNAN CORTES perceived the Difficulty, but, without appearing concerned, extended the Troops of the Allies along the Bank of the River; and, whilst both Sides made some Discharges at each other with little Effect, he commanded the *Spaniards* to advance, and gain the Bridge. The *Spaniards* met with such an obstinate Resistance, that they were twice repulsed; but returning a third Time to the Attack with greater Vigour, and making Use of the Enemy's Trenches against them, they soon became Masters of the Pass; which so

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discouraged the *Mexicans*, that they began everywhere to fly, their Commanders ordering the Signal for a Retreat, either to cover their Disorder, or with a Design to rally.

THE *Spaniards* made Haste to seize upon the Ground the *Mexicans* had quitted, and at the same Time several Companies of *Tlascala* and *Tezeuco* threw themselves into the River, and swam to the other Side, where they joined the Army. The Enemy were drawn up in Order of Battle under the Walls of the Town, but upon the first Advance of the *Spaniards* they began to retire, provoking them still by their Cries, and some Discharges of Arrows, which did no Execution, to signify that they retreated out of Choice. However, *Cortes* fell upon them with so much Vigour, that at the very first Charge it was seen how near their affected Valour was to fear. They continued retiring into the City, in the Entrance of which they lost great Numbers; and sheltering themselves within the Barricades, with which they had blocked up the Streets, began again to use their Arms, and defy their Enemies.

HERNAN CORTES left a Part of his Troops without the Town to secure his Retreat, and to oppose any Attacks that might be made from Abroad, and entered with the rest to pursue the Chace. For which Purpose, ordering some Companies to force the Barricades in the Streets, on the Right and Left, he advanced to the principal one, where the Enemy had their greatest Force. With some Difficulty he broke through their Blockade, and, carried away by the Transports of his Courage, forgot the Care he ought to have had of his Person; for throwing himself with more Bravery than Prudence into the midst of a Multitude of Enemies, he found himself surrounded by them, when he would have returned

to the Assistance of his Men. He supported himself for some time with the utmost Courage, until his Horse, being tired, fell under him, and put him in extreme Danger of his Life. Those who were nearest, immediately advanced; and, before he was in a Condition to make Use of his Arms, he was in a Manner taken; the only Thing that defended him, being the great Desire the *Mexicans* had to take him alive, for a Present to their Emperor. At this Instant, *Christoval de Olea*, Native of *Medina del Campo*, a Soldier of distinguished Valour, who was not far off, saw the Distress of his General, and calling to some *Tlascalans* who were fighting near him, forced his Way to the Place with so much Resolution, and was so well seconded by those that followed him, that, after having killed with his own Hand those who pressed most upon his General, he had the good Fortune to restore him to his Liberty. *Cortes* immediately made use of it to push the Enemy, who escaping to that Part of the City, which stood in the Water, left the *Spaniards* Masters of all the Streets upon the firm Land.

CORTES came off with two slight Wounds, and *Olea* with three dangerous Cuts of a Sword, whose Scars were afterwards honourable Marks of his Exploit. *Herrera* saith, That *Cortes* owed his Liberty to a *Tlascalan*, unknown both before and after, and relates the Action as a kind of a Miracle; but *Bernal Diaz*, who was one of the first that came to the Relief of the General, attributes the whole Honour to *Olea*; and the Descendants of this valiant Man (leaving to God the Glory which is his Due) may very well be excused, if they rather believe an Author who relates what he saw, than one who goes upon Conjectures.

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WHILST this Engagement lasted in the Town, the Troops that were without, under the Command of *Olid*, *Alvarado*, and *Tapia*, were not idle: The Nobles of *Mexico* made an extraordinary Effort to reinforce the Garrison of *Suchimilco*, whose Conservation the Emperor *Guatimozin* had very much at Heart. They embarked with ten Thousand chosen Men, and landed at some Distance from the Town, knowing that the *Spaniards* were engaged in the Streets, and designed to fall upon their Rear: But they were discovered, and charged with so much Resolution, that they were glad to reembark, leaving a good Number of their Men upon the Field: But it appeared, by the Resistance they made, that they were led by valiant Commanders; and the Dispute was so warm, that the three *Spanish* Captains were wounded, besides a considerable Number of *Spanish* and *Tlascalan* Soldiers.

THIS happy Success made *Hernan Cortes* Master of the Field, and of all the Streets and Buildings upon the firm Land; and having placed sufficient Guards on the Water-side, he lodged his Troops in great Porticoes, near the principal Temple; which having a sort of a Wall capable of resisting the Arms of the *Mexicans*, seemed commodious for the Repose of the Soldiers, and the Cure of their Wounds. At the same time he ordered some Companies to mount, and view the Top of the Temple, which being found forsaken, he posted an Officer, and twenty or thirty *Spaniards* in the upper Court, with Orders to be alert, and to relieve the Centries often, that they might observe every Thing that passed both by Land and by Water: A very necessary Precaution, and of which the Usefulness was soon experienced! for at the Close of the Evening, they gave Notice, that they had discovered, on the Side of *Mexico*, above two Thousand

land armed Canoes, that advanced with all the Speed their Oars would permit; by which timely Advice, the *Spaniards* were enabled to prevent the Dangers of the Night, by doubling their Guards at the Landing-Places; and in the Morning they saw the Enemy disembark at a great Distance from the City, in Appearance about fourteen or fifteen thousand Men.

HERNAN CORTES went out to receive them, chusing an advantageous Piece of Ground for his Horse, and leaving a good Part of his Troops for the Defence of his Quarters. The two Armies quickly drew near, and the *Mexicans* began the Charge; but upon receiving the first Fire, they gave Ground; so that the rest of our Troops coming up Sword in Hand, and charging them briskly, they soon turned their Backs, and fled; and the whole Action was rather a Chase than a Victory.

CORTES continued four Days in *Suchimilco*, for the Recovery of his Wounded, the Troops never quitting their Arms, because the Neighbourhood of *Mexico* made it easy for the Enemy to send Succours from thence; and even when they were free from those Alarms, the Apprehension of them was sufficient to fatigue the Soldiers.

THE Day appointed for the Retreat came, which was executed, as had been resolved; the Enemy still continuing their Persecution, and sometimes advancing to seize the difficult Passes, in order to disturb the March: But this Opposition was easily overcome, and with considerable Advantage; and *Hernan Cortes* returned to *Tezeuco*, with the Satisfaction of having obtained the two Ends he proposed by this Sally, the Knowledge of *Suchimilco*, (a Place of Importance to his Designs) and breaking the Force of the Enemy, in order to their weaker Defence

Defence of *Mexico*. However he was inwardly dissatisfied and melancholy for having lost nine or ten *Spaniards* in this Expedition; for, besides those that were killed at the first Assault of the Mountains, the *Mexicans* took Three or Four alive at *Suchimilco*, as they were pillaging one of the Houses in the Water; and two of his Servants, who fell into an Ambuscade, by imprudently separating from the Army. What mightily increased his Concern, was the Circumstance of their being taken alive, in order to be sacrificed upon the Altars of the *Indian* Idols; and their Misfortune recalled to his Mind his own past Danger (when in the Enemy's Power) of dying after the same abominable Manner. But he always made Reflections too late on the Importance of his Life; for when a Time of Action came, he consulted only the Motions of his Valour, and postponed the Hearing of what Prudence might remonstrate, to another Time.

C H A P. XIX.

A Conspiracy of some Spaniards against the Life of Cortes, is punished by the Death of a Spanish Soldier; and a Sedition of some Tlascalans, by the Death of Xicotencal.

THE Brigantines were now in a Condition to be launched, and the Canal had Depth and Capacity sufficient to receive them: All other necessary Preparations went on with Vigour; great Quantities of Arms were made for the *Indians*, an exact Account taken of all the Stores in the Magazines,

zines, and all the Artillery was proved. The Day was appointed for the Confederate Caziques to appear at the Rendezvouz with their Troops; and particular Care was taken to bring Provisions continually to the Place of Arms, partly for the Sake of the Ransoms or Trafficking, and partly as the Discharge of an Obligation the Confederates were under. The General looked into the most minute Matters that related to the carrying on of the War, wherein great Dangers are often occasioned by small Faults, and therefore a very extensive Prudence is required.

BUT while *Hernan Cortes* had his Thoughts employed in these Affairs, a new Accident happened, which gave him much Trouble, tryed his Valour, and was a convincing Proof of his Judgment: A *Spaniard*, who had been long in the Service, came to him full of Concern, and desired to speak with him in private; when that was granted, he informed him, that during his Absence, a Conspiracy had been formed against his Life, and the Lives of all his Friends. The Author of it (as he said) was a private Soldier, of very small Note, as may be supposed, since the first Time we hear of his Name is with his Crime. He was called *Antonio de Villafana*, and his first Intention was to get off from that Enterprize, the Difficulties whereof to him appeared insuperable. He shewed his Uneasiness at first by murmuring, and soon proceeded to dangerous Resolutions. He, and those of his Faction, blamed the General for his obstinate Pursuit of that Conquest, declaring they would not cast themselves away, to gratify his Rashness; and talking of returning to the Island of *Cuba*, as of a Thing very easy to be performed. They met to consult about this Point with much Secrecy, and though they found no great Difficulty in quitting the

the Camp, and passing as far as *Tlascala*, by Virtue of a supposed Order from the General, the Inconvenience of going to *Vera Cruz* (which was unavoidable, in order to embark) immediately occurred: for there they could not pretend a Commission or Leave from *Cortes*, without a Pass under his Hand, nor avoid the Danger of being cast into Gaol, and severely punished. This put them to a Non-plus, and yet they persisted in their Resolution of withdrawing themselves without fixing on the Way how to compass it.

ANTONIO DE VILLAFANA, at whose Lodging they held all their Assemblies, at last proposed, that all might be brought to pass, by killing *Cortes*, and his chief Counsellors, and electing another General in his Room, who had not set his Heart so much upon the Conquest of *Mexico*, and who would be more governable; under whose Command they might retreat, without the Name of Fugitives, and give it the Turn of a Piece of Service to *Velasquez*, by whose Representation of it to the Court of *Spain*, it might be esteemed as a Service done to the King. They all approved of the Project, and embracing *Villafana*, the Tumult began, by applauding the Sedition: They immediately drew up a Writing, signed by all that were present, whereby they obliged themselves to follow *Villafana* in the Execution of this horrible Attempt; and this Affair was managed with so much Dexterity, that the Numbers of those who signed, increased considerably: and it was to be feared, that the secret Contagion might break out into such an Evil, as would admit of no Remedy.

THEY had agreed to feign a Pacquet from *Vera-Cruz*, with Letters from *Spain*, and to give it to the General, when he was at Table with his Companions, all of them going in together, under

Colour of hearing the News; and that whilst *Cortes* was employed in reading the first Letter, they should make Use of that Opportunity to murder him, and all his Friends, with their Ponyards; after which, they were to go out, and proclaim Liberty in the Streets, which they thought was sufficient to make the Army declare for them, and put to Death the rest that were suspected. The Persons they had marked out for Destruction, according to their blind Notions, were *Christoval de Olid*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, *Pedro de Alvarado*, and his Brothers, *Andres de Tapia*, the two ordinary Alcaldes, *Luis Marin*, *Pedro de Ircio*, *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, and some other Soldiers, Favourites of the General. They had agreed to choose *Francisco Verdugo* for their Captain-General, because he had married a Sister of *Diego Velasquez*, and therefore they thought he might be easily brought over, and was the properest Person to support and credit their Party. But as they knew he was a Man of Honour, and an Enemy to Injustice, they durst not acquaint him with their Design, till the Crime was once committed, when they concluded he would be obliged to take upon himself the Employment, to prevent greater Evils.

SUCH was the Account given by the Soldier, who begged his Life as a Reward of his Fidelity, for he was one engaged in the Conspiracy. *Hernan Cortes* resolved to assist in Person at the seizing of *Villafana*, and at the first Measures that were to be taken, to convict him of his Crime: because the clearing up, or obscuring of the Truth, usually depends on these first Steps. The Importance of the Affair required no less Precaution, and it was no Time to observe the slow Procedures of judiciary Forms. He went immediately to secure *Villafana*, attended by the two Alcaldes, and some
of

of his Captains, and found him in his Quarters, with three or four of his Accomplices. The Trouble he was in at the Sight of his General, was his first Conviction; and *Cortes*, after he had ordered him to be put in Irons, caused all to retire, pretending to examine him in private; when, making his Advantage of the Account that had been given him, he took out of his Bosom the Paper signed by all the Conspirators. He read it, and found the Names of some Persons, whose Infidelity very much increased his Concern; but concealing it from his Friends, he caused the Soldiers, who were found with *Villafana*, to be put into another Prison; and then withdrew, leaving Instructions with the Officers of Justice, to proceed upon his Tryal with all possible Speed, without taking any Notice of his Accomplices. There was not much to do in it; for *Villafana* being convicted by the seizing of his Paper, and believing that his Friends had betrayed him, immediately confessed his Crime: whereupon they proceeded against him by the Rules of Military Justice, and condemned him to die, which Sentence (after allowing him the necessary Time for discharging his Duty as a Christian) was put in Execution that very Night; and the next Morning he was seen hanging at the Window of his own Lodging; so that the Punishment was seen at the same Time that the Cause of it was published, the Guilty being struck with Fear, and the rest with an Abhorrence of the Crime.

CORTES was equally afflicted and provoked to see the Number of those concerned in the Conspiracy; but it was no proper Time to satisfy Justice by the Loss of so many *Spaniards* at the Beginning of his Enterprize; and therefore, to avoid punishing the Guilty, and at the same Time the Inconveniences of Impunity, he gave it out, that *Villafana*

fana had swallowed a Paper, torn in Pieces, which he believed contained the Names or Hands of the Conspirators. Soon after, he assembled his Captains and Soldiers, and gave them a summary Account of the horrid Design and Conspiracy of *Villafana* against his Life, and the Lives of many there present; adding, "That he thought himself very
 " happy in not knowing whether he had any
 " Accomplices; though the great Care *Villafana*
 " took to destroy that Paper he carried in his Bosom, made him suspect he had some; but that
 " he did not desire to know them; and only in-
 " treated his Friends to enquire whether the *Spaniards* had any Complaint to make of his Proceedings: because he was desirous, above all
 " Things, to give intire Satisfaction to his Soldiers, and was as ready to correct his own Faults,
 " as he knew how to use the Rigour of Justice,
 " when the Lenity of his Punishments made them
 " lose their Influence."

At the same Time he ordered the Soldiers, that had been taken with *Villafana*, to be set at Liberty; and this Declaration of his Mind, confirmed by the Care he took to shew no Change in his Countenance to those who had offended, fully persuaded them that he was ignorant of their Crime; and they afterwards served with extraordinary Care, to remove any Suspicions of their Fidelity.

It was a very important Act of Prudence to conceal that Paper of Subscriptions, to avoid losing so many *Spaniards*, of whom he stood in Need at that Time; but it was a greater Action to conceal his Indignation, so as not to give them the least Occasion of Distrust: It shewed, that his Reason was free, and that he had an absolute Command of his Passions. However, not thinking such an excessive Security, which lays Care asleep, and seems

to invite Danger, to be consistent with Discretion, he then ordered twelve Men for the Guard of his Person, commanded by an Officer; and it is likely he made use of this Opportunity, that the People might, without Surprize, see this new Addition to the Support of his Authority.

Soon after he was perplexed with another Affair, which though of a different Sort, had yet some Circumstances of Sedition: for *Xicotencal*, who commanded the first Troops that came from *Tlascalala*, either upon some Disgust, which may be easily supposed, considering his haughty Temper, or that he still preserved in his Mind some Remains of his former Enmity, resolved to leave the Army; assembling some Companies, which, upon his earnest Intreaty, offered to stand by him. He took the Advantage of the Night for his Retreat: and *Hernan Cortes*, who was presently informed of it by the *Tlascalans* themselves, was much concerned at a Behaviour of such dangerous Consequence, of so considerable a Commander among those Nations, at a Time when he was just ready to put his Designs in Execution. He sent some noble *Indians* of *Tezeuco* after him, to persuade him to return, or at least to stay till he had heard what he had to offer; but the Answer of *Xicotencal* (which was not only resolute, but discourteous, and with Contempt) so provoked *Cortes*, that he immediately sent three Companies of *Spaniards*, with an additional Force of *Tezeucan Indians* and *Chalqueses*, with Orders to take him Prisoner, or kill him in case of Resistance. The latter was put in Execution, for he made an obstinate Defence to the last; and the *Tlascalans*, who followed him contrary to their own Inclination, shewed but little Resolution upon this Occasion, and returned with the *Spaniards* to the
Army,

Army, leaving their Commander hanging upon a Tree.

THUS *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* reports this Action; but *Antonio de Herrera* says, he was brought to *Tezeuco*, and that *Hernan Cortes*, by Virtue of a Power from the Republick of *Tlascalala*, hanged him publicly in the City; which is not so likely, because he might have run a Risque among so great a Number of *Tlascalans*, who could not but resent the Affront of so shameful a Punishment, inflicted on the Person of one of the first Men of their Nation.

SOME say, that the *Spaniards* sent after him by *Cortes*, had private Orders to kill him, which seems to me the safest Resolution could have been taken; but which way soever it was done, the extraordinary Foresight and Prudence of the General in managing this Affair cannot be denied, since neither the *Tlascalans* of the Army, nor the Republick, nor even his own Father, made the least Complaint for his Death; for having been informed some Days before, that the young Man so far forgot himself as to speak ill of his Conduct, and endeavoured to discredit among those of his Nation the Enterprize upon *Mexico*, *Cortes* sent an Account of it to *Tlascalala*, desiring they would recall him, upon Pretence of employing him elsewhere, or make use of their Authority to correct his Disorders: And the Senate, in which his own Father was present, answered, That according to the Laws of the Republick, whosoever was guilty of Mutiny in the Army deserved Death; and that he might proceed against him with the utmost Rigour, if he found it necessary, as they would do both against *Xicotencal* and all that followed him, if they returned to *Tlascalala*. This Permission gave *Cortes* full Authority to punish *Xicotencal*; yet he suffered his Insolence for some Days, in Hopes to reduce him

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him by gentle Means. But we are more inclined to believe, that he was put to Death without the City of *Tezeuco*, according to the Relation of *Bernal Diaz*; for *Cortes* very well knew the Difference between the Sight of an Action of so much Severity, and the Relation of it after it was done: it being an evident Maxim, That the strongest Impressions upon the Mind, are those which are received by the Eye; whereas those received by the Ear, have neither the like Strength, nor Liveliness.

C H A P. XX.

The Brigantines are launched, and the Army divided into three Parts for attacking the City at the same Time, by the Causeways of Tacuba, Iztapalapa, and Cuyoacan. Hernan Cortes advances upon the Lake, and defeats a great Fleet of Mexican Canoes.

TH^O these Accidents employed some Part of the Cares of the General, he did not omit any thing that was necessary for the carrying on his main Design. The Brigantines were launched by Degrees, a Work happily brought to a Conclusion by the Industry of *Martin Lopez*. Before the launching, they celebrated a Mass of the Holy Ghost, at which *Cortes* received the Communion with all the *Spaniards*. The Priest blessed the Hulls, and gave each of them its Name, according to the Custom of the Sea; and whilst they were carrying on board the Sails, Rigging, and whatever else was wanting, *Cortes* reviewed his *Spaniards* under Arms: They
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consisted of nine hundred Men, of which a hundred fourscore and fourteen were Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows, the rest were armed with Sword and Buckler, and Lance; eighty-six Horse, and eighteen Pieces of Cannon, the three largest of Iron, and the other fifteen Falconets of Brass, with sufficient Stores of Powder and Ball.

CORTES put five and twenty *Spaniards* on board each Vessel, under the Command of a Captain, with twelve Rowers, six on each Side, and one Piece of Artillery. The Captains were *Pedro de Barba* Native of *Sevil*, *Garcia de Holquin* of *Cazeres*, *Juan Portillo* of *Portillo*, *Juan Rodriguez de Villefuerte* of *Medellin*, *Juan Jaramillo* of *Salvatierra* in *Estremadura*, *Miguel Diaz* of *Auz* an *Arragonian*, *Francisco Rodriguez Magarino* of *Merida*, *Christoval Flores* of *Valencia* de *Don Juan*, *Antonio de Caravaxal* of *Zamora*, *Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota* of *Burgos*, *Pedro Briones* of *Salamanca*, *Rodrigo Morejon de Lobera* of *Medina del Campo*, and *Antonio Sotelo* of *Zamora*, who immediately embarked, each one prepared to defend his own Vessel, and succour the rest.

THINGS being thus disposed for the Entry by the Lake, *Cortes* resolved, with the Approbation of his Captains, to possess himself at the same time of the three principal Causeways of *Tacuba*, *Iztapalapa*, and *Cuyoacan*, without regarding that of *Suchimilco*, that he might avoid separating his Troops too far, and post them where they might receive his Orders with least Difficulty. To this End, he divided his Army into three Bodies, and committed the Expedition of *Tacuba* to *Pedro de Alvarado*, with the Title of Governor and Commander in Chief of that Avenue: He had under his Command a hundred and fifty *Spanish* Foot, and thirty Horse, in three Bodies, led by the Cap-
tains

tains *Jorge de Alvarado*, *Gutiere de Badajoz*, and *Andres de Monjaraz*, with thirty thousand *Tlascalans*, and two Pieces of Artillery. The Attack of *Cuyoacan* was committed to the Colonel *Cbristoval de Olid*, with a hundred and sixty *Spanish* Foot, in three Companies, under the Command of *Francisco Verdugo*, *Andres de Tapia*, and *Francisco de Lago*, with thirty Horse, two Pieces of Artillery, and thirty Thousand confederate *Indians*. Lastly, he gave the Charge of the Attack of *Iztapalapa* to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with a hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, commanded by the Captains *Luis Marin*, and *Pedro de Ircio*, with two Pieces of Cannon, twenty-four Horse, with all the Troops of *Chalco*, *Guaxocingo*, and *Cholula*, amounting to above forty thousand Men. In this Number of *Indians*, who served at the three Attacks, we follow the Opinion of *Herrera*; for *Bernal Diaz del Castillo* allows no more than 8000 *Tlascalans* to each of the three Captains, and repeats it sometimes, that they were rather an Hindrance, than any Advancement to the Service; without telling us what became of so many thousand Men as came from all Parts to the Siege of that City: which plainly shews the Vanity he had of attributing all the Glory of the Action to the *Spaniards*, in our Opinion without much Discretion, because it renders that incredible, which he would endeavour to extol, when the Truth itself needed no Addition.

OLID and ALVARADO marched together as far as *Tacuba*, where they were to separate, and took up their Quarters in that City without any Opposition, the same being then abandoned, as were all the other Towns upon the Lake, the Inhabitants that were able to bear Arms, being all gone to *Mexico*, to defend their Capital, and the rest retired to the Mountains, with what Effects they could

could carry off. There they had Intelligence, that the *Mexicans* had formed a considerable Body within half a League of the Town, to cover the Aqueducts which came from the Mountains of *Chapultepecue*. *Guatimozin* took this seasonable Precaution, as soon as he received News of the Motions of the *Spaniards*, to preserve those Conveyances which supplied all the Fountains in the City with fresh Water.

THERE appeared on that Side two or three Rows of Pipes, made of Trees hollowed, supported by an Aqueduct of Lime and Stone, and the Enemy had cast up some Trenches to cover the Avenue to it. But the two Captains marched out of *Tacuba* with most of their Troops; and tho' they met with a very obstinate Resistance, they drove the Enemy from their Post, and broke the Pipes and Aqueduct in two or three Places, and the Water took its natural Course into the Lake. Thus *Olid* and *Alvarado* began the Siege of this famous City, by cutting off their Water, obliging the *Mexicans* to seek it at a Distance, in the Brooks that ran from the Mountains, and to employ their People and Canoes in Carriage and Convoys.

WHEN this was over, *Olid* marched on with his Party, and took his Post at *Cuyoacan*; and *Cortes* allowing what Time he thought sufficient for *Sandoval* to reach *Iztapalapa*, took upon himself the Command on the Lake, that he might oversee every Thing, and carry Relief where it should be necessary: He had with him Don *Fernando*, Lord of *Tezeuco*, and his Brother, called *Suchel*, a young Man of Spirit, who was baptized soon after, and took the Name of *Carlos*, as a Subject of the Emperor. *Cortes* left a sufficient Number of Troops in that City, to cover his Place of Arms, and make some Excursions to secure the Communication

tion of his Quarters. Having disposed all Things after this Manner, he embarked, drawing up his thirteen Brigantines in a Line, adorning them with Flags and Streamers, and whatever could add to the outward Shew, and surprize the Enemy by the Novelty.

His Design was to draw near to *Mexico*, and shew himself Lord of the Lake, and afterwards to fall upon *Iztapalapa*, being under some Concern for *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who had no Vessels to dislodge the *Mexicans* from that Part of the City which stood in the Water, and continually served as a Retreat for their Canoes. But in his Return, he discovered, at a small Distance from the City, a little Island or Heap of Rocks, a considerable Height above the Water, on the Top of which stood a pretty large Castle, which the Enemy had possessed themselves of to no other End, than to provoke the *Spaniards* with ill Language and Threats from a Post where they thought themselves out of Danger of the Brigantines. *Cortes* did not think it convenient to leave unpunished this Insolence in View of the City, whose Terraces and Balconies were filled with innumerable People, who came to see the first Action of the Fleet; and finding his Captains were all of the same Opinion, he drew near to the Shore of the Island, and landed with a hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, who took two or three different Paths that led to the Top. They mounted with some Difficulty, by Reason that the Enemy were numerous and made a brave Defence; till despairing of being able to make good the Eminence, they retired into the Castle, where they were so crowded, that they had not Room to manage their Arms. Many perished, though the most were spared, the *Spaniards* being unwilling to stain their Swords in the Blood of those that sur-

rendered, or to be troubled with the Charge of Prisoners.

HAVING, by this short Enterprize, chastized the *Mexicans*, the *Spaniards* returned to their Brigantines; but when they were disposing themselves to make for *Iztapalapa*, they were obliged to take other Measures; for they saw some Canoes come out of *Mexico*, which advanced upon the Lake, increasing continually in Numbers. The first that advanced, rowing gently, were about five hundred, waiting for the rest to come up; and in a short Time, those which came out of the City, and others that joined them from neighbouring Places, made so great a Number, that by the Room they took up, it was judged they were about four thousand; which Multitude, with the Motion of their Feathers and Arms, afforded a Sight both beautiful and terrible, and seemed to cover the Lake.

CORTES drew up his Fleet in the Form of a Half-Moon, that he might extend his Front, and engage at Liberty: He confided in the Valour of his Soldiers, and the Advantage of his Brigantines, every one of which was able to make Head against a great Part of the Enemy's Fleet. With this Assurance he advanced towards the *Mexicans*, to let them see he did not decline the Battle; and then ordered his Men to lie upon their Oars and rest, that they being refreshed, he might break in upon the Enemy with the greater Force; for the Calmness of the Day left the whole Motion to the Labour of the Rowers. The *Mexicans* did the same, and perhaps for the same Reason; but the Divine Providence, which had so often appear'd in favour of the *Spaniards*, so ordered it, that there came up a Land-breez; which taking the Brigantines astern, gave them all the Force that was necessary to fall upon

upon the *Mexicans*: They began the Attack with the Artillery, at a convenient Distance; and then the Brigantines made up with Sails and Oars, over-setting all that stood in their Way. The Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows made their Discharges, without losing a Shot: The Wind too was favourable, driving the Smoke upon the Enemy, blinding them after such a Manner, that they were obliged to give back, to avoid it; the Brigantines themselves playing their Parts, staving the smaller Vessels, whose Weakness made it easy to sink them, without any Danger from the Shock. The Nobles of *Mexico*, who were in the first five hundred Canoes, made some Opposition, but the rest was all Disorder and Confusion, the Canoes running foul on, and over-setting one another. The Enemy lost most of their Men, and their Fleet was intirely broke and defeated; the Brigantines pursuing the miserable Remains with their Canon-Shot, till they forced them into the Canals of the City of *Mexico*.

THIS Victory was of great Moment, on Account of the Reputation the Brigantines gained of being invincible; and because it was a great Discouragement to the *Mexicans*, to see themselves deprived of that Part of their Power, which consisted in the dextrous Management and Swiftnefs of their Canoes; not for the Number of them that they then lost, which was then inconsiderable, in regard of what they had still in Reserve; but because they were convinced, that they were of no Use, and incapable of sustaining the violent Shock of the Brigantines. The *Spaniards* remained Masters of the Lake, and *Cortes* sailed about the City, firing some Shot into it, rather by way of Triumph, than for any Damage he did the Enemy: Nor was he displeased to behold the Multitude of People that cover'd the

Towers and Tops of the Houses, to see the Event of the Engagement; on the contrary, he was so glad to have them Spectators of their own Loss, that though in Reality they were too many, considered as Enemies, he thought them too few, as Witnesses of his Exploit.

C H A P. XXI.

Cortes goes to view the three Bodies of his Troops, as they were posted on the different Causeways of Cuyoacan, Iztapalapa, and Tacuba, and finds that in each Place they had Occasion for the Assistance of the Brigantines; whereupon he leaves Four with Gonzalo de Sandoval, Four with Pedro de Alvarado, and retires himself to Cuyoacan with the other Five.

CORTES chose a Post near *Tezeuco*, where he might pass the Night, and rest his Troops with some Security; but in the Morning, when the Brigantines were preparing to sail for *Iztapalapa*, he discovered a considerable Number of Canoes, that were making the best of their Way towards *Cuyoacan*; whereupon he resolved to carry Succour to that Place first, where it was immediately wanted. It was not possible to come up with the Enemy's Fleet; but he arrived soon after them, at the Time when *Christoval de Olid* was engaged on the Causeway, and obliged to make a Front against the Enemy that defended it, and to the Canoes on each Side, and was on the Point of retiring and losing the Ground he had gained.

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NECESSITY taught the *Mexicans*, as much as the Art of War could have done, for the Defence of their Causeways. They had drawn up, towards the City, the Bridges that were over the Passages, by which the Waters of the great Lake discharged themselves into the other; and fixing Timbers and Planks behind them, in such a Manner that they might mount in Ranks to charge from the Top, they left Trenches at proper Distances with Water running before them, which obstructed and made the Access difficult. After this Manner they had fortified the three Causeways attacked by the *Spaniards*, who in each were obliged to take almost the same Measures to overcome the Difficulty. The Fire-Arms, and Cross-Bows, played upon those who appeared above the Trench, whilst others handed Fascines to fill the Ditch; after which, they brought up a Piece of Artillery, and in a few Discharges clear'd the Passage, filling up the next Ditch with the Ruins of its own Fortification.

OLID had just made himself Master of the first Ditch, when the *Mexican* Canoes arrived; but on Sight of the Brigantines, all those on that Side, fled with the utmost Diligence, and none suffered but those who could not avoid the Reach of the Canon: But because the *Mexicans* on the other Side, who thought themselves secure, still continued the Engagement, *Hernan Cortes* ordered the Ditch in the Rear of *Olid* to be widened, to make a Passage for three or four Brigantines: at the first Sight whereof, all the Canoes fled, and the Enemy, who defended the next Bridge, finding themselves exposed to the great Shot, from both the Land and Water, retired in Disorder to the last Rampart next the City.

THAT Night the Troops took some Rest, without abandoning the Ground they had gained upon the Causey, and the next Morning continued their March with little or no Opposition, till coming to the last Bridge which was at the Entrance into *Mexico*, they found it fortified with stronger Works, Trenches cut in the Streets, and defended by such a Multitude of People, that the Enterprize seem'd hazardous; but the Difficulty did not appear till they were engaged, and it was not proper to retire, without doing some Execution to terrify the Enemy. The Artillery from the Brigantines made a miserable Slaughter of the People who were in Crowds at the Openings of the Streets, whilst *Cristoval de Olid* was employed in filling the Ditch, and ruining the Fortifications of the Causey. Which when he had done, he charged the *Mexicans* who defended them, making Room with his Van-guard for the Confederate Troops under his Command to come up. The Enemy at the same Time was supported by Troops from the City, and made an obstinate Resistance on all Sides: but they soon lost some Ground; and *Hernan Cortes*, who could not bear the Slowness with which they retreated, landed with thirty *Spaniards*, and gave so much Life to the Attack, that the Enemy quickly turned their Backs, and the chief Street of *Mexico* was gained.

ANOTHER Difficulty immediately occurred; for the *Mexicans* that fled, had possessed themselves of a Temple near the Entrance into the City, covering the Towers, Stairs, and all the Out-side with such Numbers of Men, that the whole Building appeared like a Hill of Arms and Feathers. They defied the *Spaniards* with as much Boldness, as if they had been always Conquerors. *Cortes*, provoked at their Pride, when they had just before shewn

shewn so much Cowardice, ordered three or four Pieces of Artillery to be landed, the first Discharge whereof made them sensible of their Danger, and the *Spaniards* were soon obliged to point their Cannon lower against those that fled to the inner Part of the City. Thus all that Quarter was forsaken; for those who fought from Windows, and from the Tops of the Houses, went off with the rest; so that the Army advanced, and the Temple was gained without any further Opposition.

THAT Day the *Mexicans* sustained a very great Loss of Men. The Idols were cast into the Fire, and served to make Illuminations for the Victory. *Hernan Cortes* was satisfied, that he had gained Footing in the City; and finding the Temple capable of a more than ordinary Defence, he not only resolved to lodge his Troops there that Night, but had Thoughts of maintaining that Post, to streighten the Enemy, and of removing his Quarters from *Cuyoacan* thither. He communicated his Design to his Captains, with the Reasons that induced him to it; but they all unanimously represented to him, *That as they were ignorant what Progress Gonzalo de Sandoval, and Pedro de Alvarado had made, at their Attacks, it would be Rashness to run the Risque of losing the Passage of the Causeway, and at the same Time all Hopes of receiving the Ammunition and Provision which would be necessary for the Preservation of the Troops. That they were not to trust to their being brought by the Brigantines, because those Vessels could not enter the Water-Trenches of that Part, and therefore would be forced to land the Provisions at such a Distance, that they could neither receive, nor transport them to their Garrison, without fighting a Battle every Time. That they ought to make their Advances equally at each Attack, in order to divide the Enemy's*

Forces, and be assisting to each other, until such Time as they should all have taken up their Quarters in the City. And lastly, That the Resolutions which had been taken with the Approbation of all the Captains for the carrying on of that Siege, ought not to be altered without very mature Deliberation; nor ought they to expose themselves voluntarily to a Danger, without a better Reason than the Reputation of that Day's Victory; the Consequences of good Success not being always to be depended on, for that, like Flattery, it very often deceived the Understanding, at the same Time that it pleased the Imagination. Hernan Cortes was convinced, that their Advice was good; for it was one of the best Qualities, that he easily forsook his own Opinion, to follow the Dictates of Reason; and accordingly the next Day he retir'd to *Cuyoacan*, protected on each Side by his Brigantines, so that the Enemy durst not attempt to disturb his March.

THE same Day he proceeded to *Iztapalapa*, where he found *Gonzalo de Sandoval* reduced to the last Extremity. He had possessed himself of the Buildings on the Land, and lodged his Army there, fortifying himself the best he could; but the Enemy, who retired to that Part that was in the Water, endeavoured from their Canoes to do him all the Damage they could. *Sandoval* had made great Havock among those that approached, ruined some Houses, and overthrown Two or Three Successors from *Mexico*, that came to attack him by Land; and that Day the Enemy having forsaken a large House, which was but little distant from the Land, he resolved to seize it, in order to enlarge his Quarters, and drive the Enemy farther off. He made a Passage thro' the Water with Fascines, and got into the House with some of his People; but he had scarce entered, when a great Number of Canoes,

Canoes, which had lain in Ambush, advanced with Troops of Swimmers, who flung themselves into the Water, and taking away the Fascines, cut off *Sandoval's* Retreat; by which Means they besieged him on all Sides shooting at the *Spaniards* from the Terraces and Windows of the neighbouring Houses.

He was in this Distress, when *Hernan Cortes* arrived; who discovering that vast Number of Canoes in the Water-streets, which looked towards *Mexico*, made his Brigantines advance with all possible Speed, and played his Artillery with such good Effect, that, terrified by the Destruction the Balls made, and the Approach of the Brigantines, they all fled at once thro' the most retired Streets in the Town, with a Design to get thro' into the Lake; and such was their Disorder, that the People who were upon the Terraces, crouding into the Canoes, sunk many of them, and the rest, in their Flight, fell in among the Brigantines, as they were endeavouring to avoid that Danger. The *Mexicans* sustained such a Loss that Day, as diminished their Forces considerably; and the *Spaniards* afterwards taking a View of that Part of the City they had possessed themselves of, made some Prisoners, and found a sufficient Booty, not to enrich, but to please the Soldiers. *Cortes* perceived by the Difficulties which *Gonzalo de Sandoval* had met with at *Iztapalapa*, that it was impossible to make use of the Causeway, without first ruining that Half of the City which was the Retreat of the *Mexican* Canoes; but because this would occasion a Delay which might be of Dangerous Consequence to the other Attacks, he resolved to quit that Post, and dispatch *Sandoval* to possess himself of *Tapeaquilla*, where there was another narrower Causeway, less commodious for attacking,

attacking, but more advantageous for cutting off the Enemy's Provisions, which they began to want, and which were brought to them that Way. This Design was immediately put in Execution, and *Sandoval* marched by Land, escorted by the Brigantines, till he had got possession of the new Quarters. The Place was forsaken, and he lodged himself there without Resistance, after which *Hernan Cortes* sailed to *Tacuba*.

ALVARADO found this City deserted, and had therefore no Need of a Victory to begin his Advances. In his further Progress he met with various Success; he beat down the Works, and filled up the Ditches after the same Manner that *Olid* had done; but tho' he did the Enemy considerable Damage, and had once advanced so far as to fire some Houses in *Mexico*, he had lost Eight *Spaniards*, when *Cortes* arrived. A Loss which occasioned some Mixture of Regret with the Applauses of his Valour.

HERNAN CORTES found the Measures he had taken did not answer his Designs; for this way of attacking and retreating, consumed his Time, and exposed his Men without any great Advantage, and was rather doing Acts of Hostility, than making a Progress. To proceed by the Causeways was very difficult, by reason of the Trenches and Ditches, which the *Mexicans* were fortifying every Day, and the continual Persecution of their Canoes, which always charged in great Numbers where-ever the Brigantines quitted; for which Reason he was obliged to think of other Measures for the facilitating of his Enterprize.

He then commanded all Attacks to cease till further Orders, and applied himself to the providing such a Number of Canoes, as might secure him the Dominion of the Lake; to which End he sent such

such Persons as he could confide in, to bring all the Canoes that remained in the Towns of his Allies, with which, and those that came from *Tezeuco* and *Chalco*, he made up such a Number as gave fresh Terror to the Enemy. He divided them into three Squadrons, manned by *Indians*, who knew how to manage them, under the Command of Captains of their own Nation; and having distributed this Reinforcement among the Brigantines, he sent Four of them to *Sandoval*, Four to *Pedro de Alvarado*, and he himself with the other Five joined the Colonel *Christoval de Olid*.

FROM that Day the Attacks were carried on with much more Ease, and a Stop intirely put to the Insults of the Enemy; and *Hernan Cortes* at the same time ordered the Brigantines, and Canoes to make their Rounds on the Lake, and coast along the Three Causeways, to hinder the supplying of the City, by which Means many Vessels were taken, that endeavoured to pass with Provisions and Barrels of Water, and they were informed of the great Distress to which the Besieged were reduced. *Olid* sometimes advanced so far, as to demolish some Houses in the Suburbs of the City. *Alvarado* and *Sandoval* did the same at their Attacks; with which good Success, the Face of Affairs intirely changed, the Army conceived fresh Hopes, and the meanest Soldiers facilitated the Undertaking, engaging with that chearful Confidence, which looks like Valour, and makes those bold who are prepossessed with a Notion of Victory, because they have had the good Fortune to be in Company with Conquerors.

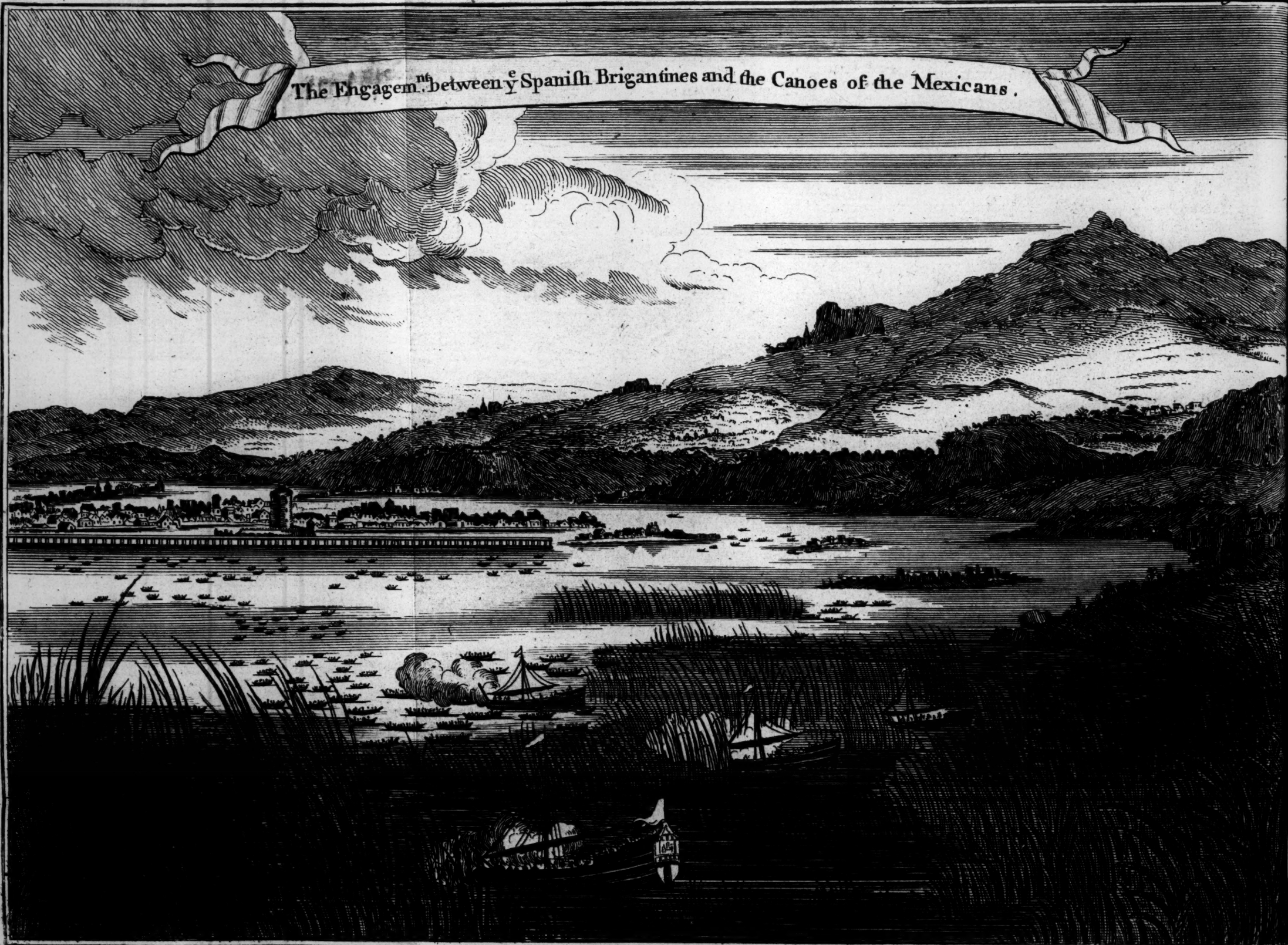
C H A P. XXII.

The Mexicans make use of various Stratagems for their Defence: They lay an Ambuscade of Canoes for the Brigantines. Hernan Cortes receives a considerable Defeat, and is forced to retire to Cuyoacan.

THE Diligence and Industry of the *Mexicans* in Defence of their City, was not only remarkable, but in some of its Circumstances worthy of Admiration. 'Tis true, they were naturally valiant, and bred up in Arms, which was the only way to arrive at the greatest Dignities: But on this Occasion, they did not only shew Valour, but added military Skill; for they stood in Need of new Inventions, against an Invasion, by a People, whose Weapons and Conduct in War were utterly unknown in their Country; and they gained some Advantages, whereby they raised the Reputation of their good Sense. We have already related after what Manner they fortified their Causeways; and what they did afterwards, was no less remarkable, when they sent by round about Ways Canoes of Pioneers to clear the Ditches which the *Spaniards* had been filling up, that they might fall upon them with their whole Force, when they should be obliged to retire: A Stratagem which occasioned the Loss of some Soldiers in the first Attacks. By Degrees they found out another still more remarkable; for they acted contrary to their Custom, when Occasion required, and made some Sallies by Night, only to alarm their Enemies, and fatigue them by want of Sleep, that they might afterwards

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The Engagem^{nt} between ^eSpanish Brigantines and the Canoes of the Mexicans.



wards attack them with the Advantage of fresh Troops.

BUT nothing shewed their Industry and Ingenuity more than what they contrived against the Brigantines, whose superior Force they endeavoured to destroy by engaging them separate; for which End they built thirty great Vessels of that Sort which they called *Piraguas*, but of a larger Size, and strengthened with great Planks, to receive the Shot, and engage under better Shelter. They sallied forth in the Night with this Fleet, to post themselves behind the Reeds in the Lake, which grew so high and thick, that they formed, as it were, several Groves impenetrable to the Sight. Their Design was to draw thither the Brigantines, which used to cruize about, two at a Time, to prevent any Relief getting into the City; and in order to entice them to that Wood of Reeds, they had provided three or four Canoes laden with Provisions as a Bait, having likewise fixed a good Number of large Stakes in the Water, in hopes either to destroy the Brigantines, or to make it easier to board them. These Contrivances sufficiently shew that they knew how to defend themselves, and offend their Enemies, and that they wanted not those Subtilties, which make Men ingenious in each other's Destruction, and are, in a manner, the Rudiments of the military Art, or rather unrighteous Maxims on which the Rights of War are founded.

THE next Day two of the four Brigantines that attended *Sandoval*, went out to cruize about that Part, under the Command of the Captains *Pedro de Barba*, and *Juan Portillo*. As soon as the *Mexicans* spied them, they sent out their Canoes another Way, that being seen at a Distance, they might pretend to fly, and so retire among the Reeds; which

which was so well executed, that the two Brigantines pursued the Prize with the utmost Force of their Oars, and soon fell in among the hidden Stakes, where they were so embarrassed, that they could neither go forward nor backward.

At the same time the Enemies *Piraguas* came out, and attacked them on all Sides with desperate Fury. The *Spaniards* were near being lost; but employing the utmost Efforts of their Courage, they maintained the Fight, and kept the Enemy in Play until such time as certain expert Swimmers, by main Strength of Arms, and with Hatchets and other Tools, removed those Stakes, among which the Brigantines were fastened; and our Men being thus at Liberty to work their Vessels, and play their Artillery, sunk most of the *Piraguas*, and followed the rest as far as the Cannon-Ball would reach. The *Mexicans* suffered sufficiently for their Stratagem, but the Brigantines were very much damaged, several *Spaniards* wounded, and all very much fatigued. Captain *Juan Portillo* was killed valiantly fighting, to whose indefatigable Bravery the Success was chiefly owing; and Captain *Pedro de Barba* received several Wounds, of which he died three Days after. Both these Losses *Hernan Cortes* greatly lamented, and particularly that of *Pedro de Barba*; for in him he lost a Friend, ever steady in all Turns of Fortune, and a brave Soldier, without Arrogance, and discreet without being timorous.

It was not long before this Disaster was revenged; for the *Mexicans* having repaired their *Piraguas*, and reinforced them with new Vessels of the same kind, concealed themselves a second Time among the Reeds, fortifying the Avenue with a great Number of Stakes, indiscreetly imagining that the *Spaniards* would again fall into the same Snare, without

out their giving a different Colour to the Deceit. *Cortes* very luckily got Intelligence of this Motion of the Enemy, and being extremely desirous of revenging the Loss he had sustained as soon as possibly he could, he ordered six Brigantines to file off in the Night, and to lie in Ambush among another Parcel of Reeds not far from the Place where the Enemy had hid themselves; and that making use of their own Stratagem, one of them should fall forth early in the Morning, seeming by her different Courses to be in Search of the Canoes laden with Provisions, and afterwards draw as near the concealed *Piraguas*, as was necessary to let them see they were discovered; which done, she was to tack about, and by a hasty Flight, to entice them to the Place of the Counter-Ambuscade. Every thing succeeded as could have been wished: the Enemy sallied out with their *Piraguas* in pursuit of the Brigantine, making after this Prize, (which they looked upon as their own) with great Shoutings, and greater Speed, till being come within a convenient Distance, the other Brigantines rushed out upon them; and before they could possibly stop, or turn about, gave them such a terrible Salute with all their Artillery, that the very first Discharge overset a great Part of them, and put the *Mexicans*, who were on board the rest, into such a Consternation, that before they could recover themselves to think of flying, almost all the *Piraguas* were sunk by the next Volleys, and most of the Men perished: So that not only the Death of *Pedro de Barba* and *Juan de Portillo* was revenged, but the Enemy's Fleet intirely ruined; and though *Hernan Cortes* was sensible, that he owed to the *Mexicans* the Cunning or Invention of laying Ambushes in the Water, he had the singular Satisfaction of having so well imitated them, as to give them a Defeat by the Use of their own Stratagem.

THE *Spaniards* had frequent Intelligence of what passed in the City by the Prisoners they continually took ; and *Cortes* finding that Hunger, Thirst, and Want of all Necessaries, began to occasion Murmurs among the People, and a Difference in Opinion among the Soldiers, he applied himself with the greater Diligence to cut off all Relief from the City ; and that he might still farther justify his own Proceedings, he sent two or three Noblemen, who were his Prisoners, to *Guatimozin*, with Overtures of Peace upon very advantageous Conditions, offering to leave him in full Possession of his Empire, and all his Grandeur, provided he would only acknowledge the Sovereign Dominion of the King of *Spain*, whose Right was already owned among the *Mexicans* by the Tradition of their Ancestors, and the Consent of several Ages. This was the Substance of his Proposal, which he repeated several Times ; for, in Reality, it grieved him to destroy so beautiful and so wealthy a City, which he already looked upon as a rich Jewel in his Sovereign's Diadem.

GUATIMOZIN received the Proposal made him by the *Spanish* General with somewhat less Pride and Arrogance than he was wont ; and as several Prisoners afterwards reported, he assembled a Council of his chief Officers and Ministers, together with the Priests, whose Opinions were principally considered in all publick Affairs. “ He laid before them the miserable Condition to which the City was reduced ; the Numbers they had lost ; the Complaints of the People upon their beginning to want ; the Destruction of their Habitations ; and, lastly, he desired their Advice, expressing as much Inclination to Peace, as was sufficient to give Room for their Flattery or Respect to second him.” This so far succeeded, that

that all his Officers and Ministers concluded immediately to receive the Overtures towards an Accommodation made him by *Cortes*, leaving it till afterwards to consider of such particular Conditions of a Peace, as would be most for the Interest of the State.

BUT the Priests positively opposed all manner of Treaty, either feigning to have received some Answers from their Idols, which gave them fresh Assurances of Success and Victory over their Enemies; or, perhaps, what they delivered were not Lies of their own Invention, but what they really had received from them; for the Devil at that Time was extremely busy, instilling into the Ears of those deluded People strange and fallacious Notions, though he could not inspire their Hearts with true Courage.

THE Opinion of the Priests, being backed by Zeal for Religion, or, if that was wanting, by the outward Shew of Piety, so far prevailed, that all who had Votes concurred with them, and *Guatimozin*, not without much Regret, because he already began to presage his own Ruin, resolved to carry on the War; telling his Ministers, "That he assuredly would put to Death the first Man who should presume again to mention Peace, what-ever Distress the City should be reduced to, without excepting even the Priests themselves, who were most of all obliged to support the Oracles of their Gods."

CORTES being informed of this Determination, resolved to push on his Hostilities, by the three Causeways at the same Time, and to carry Fire and Sword into the very Heart of the City; and sending his Orders to the Commanders of the two Attacks of *Tacuba* and *Tapeaquilla*, he at the Time appointed himself by the Causeway of

Cuyoacan, at the Head of the Troops commanded by *Christoval de Olid*. The Enemy had cleared the Ditches, and cast up Works as they were wont to do; but the five Brigantines which were upon that Attack, easily overthrew their Fortifications at the same Time that the Ditches were filling up, and the Army advanced without any considerable Opposition, 'till coming to the last Bridge which opened upon the Key of the City, they met with another fort of Difficulty. The *Indians* had broke down some Part of the Causeway, to enlarge that Ditch, which was sixty Feet long, and turned into it the Water of the Canals, that it might be the deeper.

ON the opposite Bank they had raised a Fortification made of Timbers strongly united, and covered with Planks, in which there were two or three Rows of Loop-holes, with some sort of Transverses, and they had provided a prodigious Multitude of Men to defend that Post; but the first Discharges of the Artillery destroyed all that Fortification, and the Enemy having suffered much by the Fall thereof, and finding themselves exposed to the murdering Balls, retired into the City without turning their Backs, or ceasing their Menaces. Thus they left the Shore free, and *Cortes*, unwilling to lose a Moment, immediately ordered the *Spaniards* to possess themselves of it, making Use of his Brigantines, and the Canoes of his Confederates, to land his Men; and the Horse pass'd the same Ways with three Pieces of Artillery, which he thought sufficient for that Day's Service.

BEFORE *Cortes* advanced against the Enemy, who were still posted behind the Trenches made across the Streets, he ordered the Treasurer *Julian de Alderete* to stay there, and fill up and secure that Ditch; and the Brigantines to draw near by the great

great Canals, to the Place where the Action was, and do what Damage they could to the Enemy. The first Engagement presently began, and *Julian de Alderete* hearing the Noise of the Battle, and seeing the Advances of the *Spaniards*, looked upon the Employment of filling up a Ditch to be very little honourable, when his Companions were fighting; and inconsiderately advanced to join the rest, leaving that Charge to another of his Company, who either did not know how to perform it, or else would not take upon him a Piece of Work which was thought dishonourable by him who committed the Care of it to him; so that all the Men under his Conduct followed him to the Engagement; and that Ditch, which, at the Time of the Attack, had been thought impracticable, remained intirely abandoned.

THE *Mexicans* resolutely stood the first Charge. It cost the *Spaniards* no small Trouble, and some Blood, to make themselves Masters of their Trenches, and the Hazard was still greater, when they had pass'd the ruined Buildings, and were obliged to defend themselves from the Arrows and Darts of the Enemy, which came pouring on them from the Tops of the Houses and Windows; but in the very Heat of the Engagement, there appeared a sudden Slackness in the Enemy, which seemed to be the Effect of some new Order; for they hastily quitted the Ground which they had defended.

THIS Change, as was then supposed, and afterwards appeared, proceeded from *Guatimozin's* being informed, that the great Ditch was abandoned; whereupon he ordered his Commanders to preserve their Troops, and to fall upon the *Spaniards* in their Retreat. *Cortes* suspected this Motion of the Enemy, and in regard that he had but barely Time enough now to return to his Quarters before Night, he be-

gan his Retreat, ordering first some Houses to be set on Fire and destroyed, in order to prevent their receiving any Damage from them on the next Attack.

BUT they had scarce began to march, before their Ears were stunned with the terrible and melancholy Sound of the *Sacred Trumpet*, so called by the *Mexicans*; because it was not permitted to any but the Priests to sound it, and that only when they denounced War, and animated the People on the Part of their Gods. The Sound was vehemently loud and strong, and the Tune composed of dismal and unharmonious Notes; which inspired those *Barbarians* with a new kind of savage Rage, such as made them despise Life through a Motive of Religion. Next followed the intolerable Din of their hideous Outcries; and when the Army march'd out of the City, there fell upon the Rear, which was brought up by the *Spaniards*, an incredible Multitude of their most resolute Warriors, pick'd out of the whole Army for this Action, which had been before contrived. The Fire-Arms and Cross-Bows faced about, and made Head, and Cortes, with the Cavalry, endeavour'd to put a Stop to the Enemy; but being informed of the Difficulty of the Ditch, which hindered the Retreat, he would have formed his Battalions, and could not; because the Confederates, who had received Orders to retire, being the first that came to the Ditch, precipitated themselves into it in the greatest Confusion imaginable; so that his Orders were either not heard, or not obeyed.

MANY got over to the Causeway in the Brigantines and Canoes, but many more flung themselves into the Water, where they found whole Troops of *Mexican Swimmers*, who either wounded, or drown'd them. Cortes was left with some of his own People to

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to maintain the Fight, his Horse was killed under him with Arrows, and Captain *Francisco de Guzman* alighting to give him his, was taken Prisoner, without any Possibility of being rescued. *Cortes* at last got to the Brigantines, and returned to his Quarters wounded, and little less than defeated, without receiving any Comfort, or thinking himself any Ways recompensed by the great Slaughter of the *Mexicans*. Above forty *Spaniards* were taken alive, to serve as Sacrifices to their Idols; one Cannon was lost, above a thousand *Tlascalans* were killed, and there was scarce any one *Spaniard* that was not hurt. This was in reality a very terrible Blow, the Consequences of which *Cortes* was very sensible of, but he would not suffer his Countenance to speak the Grief of his Heart, lest it should discover too much the Greatness of the Misfortune: A hard and inevitable Task attending the Commanders of Armies, who are obliged in all Adversities to conceal their inward Concern, and to appear with an outward Air of Tranquillity!

C H A P. XXIII.

The Mexicans celebrate their Victory with the Sacrifice of the Spanish Prisoners. Guatimozin terrifies the Confederates, and occasions many of them to forsake Cortes; but they return in greater Numbers, and it is resolved to make Lodgments within the City.

SANDOVAL and *Alvarado* entered the City at the same Time, and met with the same Opposition, with very little Difference in the Success of their Attacks; they gained Bridges, filled up
A a 3 Ditches,

Ditches, forced their Way into the Streets, destroy'd Houses, and were set upon in their Retreat with the utmost Fury of the Enemy. But they did not meet with the Misfortune of the great Ditch, and therefore their Loss was less; though in both Attacks they lost about twenty *Spaniards*, which makes up the Account of those who say, that *Cortes* lost above sixty of his own People in the Action of *Cuyoacan*.

THE Treasurer, *Julian de Alderete*, considering the Damage which his Breach of Orders had occasioned, was sensible of his Offence, and hastened to the General's Presence with much Sorrow, offering his Head to atone for his Crime, who gave him a very severe Reprimand, without any farther Punishment; not thinking it proper, at that Juncture, to discourage the Soldiers by inflicting upon that Officer the Chastisement which he merited. *Cortes* was obliged at this Time to suspend the offensive War, and contented himself with blocking up the Place more closely, and streightning the Enemy in their Provisions, that he might take Care of the Wounded, whose Numbers far exceeded those who were unhurt.

UPON this Occasion they were sensible of the singular Gift of a private Soldier, named *Juan Catalan*, who without any other Medicine than a little Oil, and certain Words and Benedictions, cured their Wounds in so short a Time, that it did not look like the Work of Nature. The Vulgar call this kind of Surgery, curing by *Ensalmo*, without any other Reason for it, than the having heard some Verses out of the Psalms among the Blessings: A Skill or Profession which Morality does not always allow, and which is sometimes permitted after a very strict Examination. However, in this Case, it would be no Presumption to look upon such a marvellous

marvellous Effect as the Work of Heaven, the Grace of Healing being one of those Gifts God is pleased sometimes, of his mere Goodness, to confer upon Man: Nor is it reasonable to suppose, that there should be any Concurrence of the evil Spirit in the Means of curing so many *Spaniards*, when that Enemy was endeavouring at the same Time to destroy them by the Suggestions of his Oracles. *Herrera* says, that this wonderful Cure was wrought by a *Spanish* Woman, called *Isabel Rodriguez*; but we rather chuse to follow *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, who was then upon the Spot; and notwithstanding it is certainly a great Misfortune to an Historian to meet with these Contradictions in Authors, yet he is not always obliged to discuss and canvass them; for the Fact being undeniable, it is of small Importance to know who was the Instrument of doing it.

BUT let us return to the *Mexicans*, who celebrated their Victory with great Rejoicings. That Night the *Spaniards* saw from their Quarters, all the Temples of the City crowned with innumerable Lights, and Vessels of Perfumes, and in the principal Temple, dedicated to the God of War, they heard the Sound of Military Instruments in several Concerts, which were not altogether disagreeable. With these pompous Preparations, they celebrated the Sacrifice of those miserable *Spaniards* who were taken alive, the Blood of whose leaping Hearts, still warm, was sprinkled upon their horrible Idol, while those wretched Victims, with their latest Breath, were calling upon the God of Truth. This was supposed to be the Occasion of that extraordinary Solemnity, and the Fires gave so great a Light, that the Motion of the People was perceived; but some Soldiers went so far as to affirm, that they could distinguish the Voices, and knew

the particular Men. A dismal Spectacle, which affected the Imagination still more than it did the Eye! and the Consideration was so melancholy and moving, that *Cortes* himself could not refrain from shedding Tears; nor those who were with him, forbear following his Example.

THE Advantage they had gained, joined to the Satisfaction of having appeased their God of War, by the Sacrifice of so many *Spaniards*, so far raised the Pride of the *Mexicans*, that the very same Night, a little before Break of Day, they advanced by the three Causeways to beat up the Quarters, with a Design to set Fire to the Brigantines, and to complete the Destruction of those People, whom they, with good Reason, concluded to be either wounded, or quite spent with Fatigue; but they knew not how to conceal their Motion; for the infernal Trumpet, which inspired them with so much Fury, turning their Despair into religious Worship, gave Notice of their Approach, and the *Spaniards* were so well prepared to receive them, that they were repulsed by the Artillery of the Brigantines, and some Pieces which were mounted at their Lodgment, which playing along the Causeways upon those Throngs of People, sufficiently chastised them for their Presumption.

THE next Day *Guatimozin* employed several Artifices (suggested to him by his own Ingenuity) which the most skilful in Military Affairs are wont to value themselves upon. He gave out, that *Cortes* had been killed in his Retreat on the Causeway, thereby giving the People Hopes, that they should shortly be delivered from their Oppressors; he sent the Heads of the sacrificed *Spaniards* to all the neighbouring Towns, that those Tokens of his Victory might bring those who had fallen off from him back to their Obedience; and lastly, he reported,
That

That their supreme Deity, the God of War, being appeased by the Heart's Blood of those their Enemies, had informed him, in an intelligible Voice, that the War should be at an End in eight Days, and that all should infallibly perish who neglected this Advice. This he invented, concluding, that he should quickly make an End of all the *Spaniards*; and he found Means to send several Persons unknown into the Enemies Quarters, who spread these Threatnings of his God among the *Indian Nations*, which served against him. A notable Contrivance intirely to deject the Spirits of those People, already disheartned by the Death of so many *Spaniards*, and the dreadful Slaughter of their own Troops, the Multitude of the Wounded, and the great Concern of their Commanders!

THE Oracles of that Idol had such an establish'd Reputation among the most distant Nations, that the *Indians* were easily persuaded of the Infallibility of those Threats; the Number of eight Days, so precisely limited for the fatal Period of their Lives, having such an Effect upon their Imagination, that they resolved immediately to quit the Army; and during the two or three first Nights, the greatest Part of the Confederate Troops abandoned their Quarters; and that senseless Apprehension was so powerful among those Nations, that even the *Tlascalans* and *Tezeucans* disbanded with the same Disorder, either because they really feared the Oracle as well as the rest, or that they were led away by the Example of those who did. None remained behind, except the Commanders and Men of Note, who, perhaps, were as much afraid; but if they were, they still valued their Lives less than their Honour.

THIS unlooked for Accident was a fresh Affliction to *Cortes*, as almost causing him to despair of the
the

the Success of his Enterprize; but the Moment that he was acquainted with the Occasion of that sudden Change, he sent their own Commanders after the Fugitives to stop them, temporizing with their Fear, till such Time as the eight Days, assign'd by the fallacious Oracle, being past, they might be sensible of the Imposture and Falsity of the Prediction, and better disposed to return to the Army. This notable Contrivance of *Cortes* had the desired Effect; for when the eight Days were expired, the *Indians* became capable of Persuasion, and having fully recovered from their Fright, returned to their Quarters with fresh Vigour and Resolution.

DON HERNANDO, Prince of *Tezeuco*, sent his Brother to bring back those of his Nation; who returned with them, and some new Levies that were coming to join the Army.

THE *Tlascalan* Deserters, who were of the meanest sort of People, did not dare to proceed on their Journey, for fear of exposing themselves to a certain Punishment; but waited to see the Event of the Prediction, with a Design to join such of their Nation, as should have the good Fortune to escape after the imaginary Defeat: But at the same Time that they were undeceived of their vain Credulity, they had the good Luck to have an Opportunity of incorporating themselves with a Reinforcement that was coming from *Tlascala*, and were the better received in the Army upon their Return.

THIS Increase of Forces, and the great Noise the Distress of the Capital City made in the neighbouring Countries, prevailed with several Nations who had till then been either Enemies, or Neuters, to declare in Favour of the *Spaniards*. One of the most considerable was the Nation of the *Otomies*, a fierce untamed People, who, after the Example of Beasts, preserved their Liberty amongst Woods
and

and Mountains, and had hitherto kept themselves free from the Subjection of the *Mexican Empire*, without any other Fortification than the Misery and Sterility of their Country, which afforded no Temptation to a Conqueror. Thus *Cortes* once more found himself at the Head of an Army of upwards of two hundred thousand Men, passing, in a few Days from a terrible Storm to an agreeable Calm; attributing, as he always did, this wonderful and sudden Change to the immediate Finger of God, whose ineffable Providence often permits Adversities, to awaken in the Minds of Men the Sense of his Bounties and Benefits.

THE *Mexicans* were not idle during this Suspension of Arms, to which the *Spaniards* were reduced. They made frequent Sallies, beating up the *Spanish* Quarters both by Night and Day, and were always repulsed with great Loss, without either damaging or terrifying their Enemies. By some of the last Prisoners *Cortes* was informed of the great Distress the City was in; that the Soldiers were dissatisfied, and the People reduced to Extremity for Want of Bread and Water; that abundance of People died by drinking the brackish Water of their Pits; and that the inconsiderable Quantity of Provisions they got by the Means of those Canoes which had escaped the Brigantines, were equally divided among the Nobles, and became an additional Subject of Impatience and Discontent to the Populace, whose Clamours began to give some Suspicion of their Fidelity: Upon which Intelligence, *Cortes* assembled his Captains to consult what was most proper to be done in the present Situation of Affairs.

HE represented to them the small Hopes he had that Want would oblige the Besieged to surrender, because of the implacable Hatred they bore the *Spaniards*, and of those Answers of their Idols, with
which

which the Devil fomented it. He gave his own Opinion, that it was best to proceed immediately to Action, for the Reason he had alledged, and for fear the Allies should again desert him; a People easily moved, and who, as they were serviceable in the Day of Battle, were endangered by the Idleness of Quarters, being always desirous to engage, and not capable of conceiving that the Siege they were then carrying on was a real War, or that, in those Intervals between the Attacks, any Detriment was done to the Enemy.

THEY were unanimously of Opinion, to continue to make Assaults, without quitting the Siege; and *Cortes*, who was sensible, by the Success of the last Engagement, how much he suffered in his Retreats, always exposed to the utmost Fury of the Enemy, resolved to leave strong Garrisons in his Quarters, and in the Place of Arms, and make a general Attack by the three Causeways at once, in order to take Posts within the City, which were to be maintained at all Hazards; each Body endeavouring to advance as far as the great Square called *Tlateleuco*, where they were to join and act as Occasion should require. The Enterprize upon *Mexico* would have been much forwarder, or perhaps quite over, if they had taken this Resolution at the Beginning: But human Prudence and Foresight is so limited and confined, that it is no small Token of Judgment, to be instructed by Miscarriages and ill Success; and Men are very often obliged to found their just Maxims of Conduct upon the Correction of Errors.

C H A P. XXIV.

Cortes carries on his three Attacks at once.

The whole Army joins in the great Square of Mexico, called Tlateleuco. Guatimozin retires to the farthest Part of the City. The Mexicans make several Efforts, and use divers Stratagems, to divert the Spaniards.

CORTES having made Provision of Water, Victuals, and whatever else was necessary for the Subsistence of his Troops in a City where all Things were wanting, the three Captains, at the Dawning of the appointed Day, marched out of their respective Quarters; *Pedro de Alvarado* from *Tacuba*, *Gonzalo de Sandoval* from *Tapeaquilla*, and the General himself, with the Body of Troops commanded by *Cristoval de Olid*, from *Cuyoacan*; each of them having his Brigantines and Canoes to support him. They found the three Causeways in a Posture of Defence, the Bridges drawn up, and the Ditches all cleared and guarded with such an enormous Multitude of Men in Arms, as if the War had been but that Day begun. All these Difficulties they however surmounted with the same Industry as they had done all the rest; and after some not very considerable Detention, the three Bodies, much about the same Time, arrived in the City: They easily gained the ruined Streets, by Reason they were but faintly defended by the Enemy, whose main Dependence was upon those where the Tops of the Houses were all manned. All that the *Spaniards* attempted the first Day, was only to lodge themselves, each Body fortifying their Quarters

ters with the Ruins of the Houses in the best Manner they could, but depending chiefly upon the Vigilance of their Centinels.

THIS new Method of Proceeding caused great Trouble and Confusion among the *Mexicans*, and intirely broke all the Measures they had taken to charge the *Spaniards* in their Retreat. The Rumour of it was soon spread throughout *Mexico*, the Danger greatly magnified, and every one's Thoughts were employed about providing some speedy Remedy against the impending Evil; and the Ministers and Nobles instantly repaired to *Guatimozin's* Palace, and, by their pressing Intreaties, prevailed with him to retire that very Night to a more distant Part of the City. Councils were continually held, and the Opinions were various and different; being either bold and resolute, or timorous and dejected, according as the Understanding followed the Dictates of the Heart. Some voted, that the King, for the Security of his Royal Person, should immediately be conveyed to some Place less exposed; others were for fortifying that Part of the City where the Court then was; and others proposed, that the first Step they took, should be to use their utmost Efforts to dislodge the Enemy from the Posts they had possessed themselves of. *Guatimozin* inclined to the Advice of those who expressed the greatest Resolution; so that, rejecting all Thoughts of abandoning *Mexico*, he declared, that he was fully determined to share his Fate with his People; and that Moment gave Orders, that Preparation should be made to attack the Enemy in their Quarters at Day-break, with the whole Remainder of his Forces. To this Purpose, the Chiefs, with all possible Expedition, assembled all their Troops, which were divided into three Bodies, with the Design of ex-
erting

erting their last Strength, in this definitive Effort, to the total Destruction of the *Spaniards*. Soon after the Dawning of the Morning, the Enemy presented themselves within Sight of the three Lodgments, whither the News of their Motions was already arrived, but the Artillery, which played upon the Avenues, made such a terrible Slaughter in their Vanguard, that they durst not advance to put their Orders in Execution, and were soon convinced, that their Attempt was wholly impracticable: So that, without venturing near enough to come to handy Blows, they began to give back, endeavouring to make what was a real Flight be looked upon only as an orderly Retreat; but that Motion, as it was slow in the Front, gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity to advance, till they could use their Weapons upon the terrified *Indians*; insomuch, that without any other Trouble than what they were at in the Pursuit, they intirely routed and dispersed the Enemy, and bettered their Quarters for the ensuing Night.

HOWEVER, the Difficulties which the *Spaniards* had to encounter afterwards, were still greater, being obliged, as they advanced, to destroy Houses, to level Works, and to fill up the Ditches which were cut cross every Street. All this was nevertheless so happily, and so expeditiously effected, that in less than four Days, the three Leaders came in Sight of the *Tlateleuco*, which was the Centre whither, by different Lines, they had all directed their Course.

PEDRO DE ALVARADO was the first who arrived at that spacious Square, where he found the Enemy, who still had retreated before him, endeavouring to draw up in Battle Array, and to make a Stand; but he gave them not Time to do as they intended, neither was it indeed an easy Matter for those

those *Indians*, when they were once in Disorder, to return to a Charge; so that, at the very first Onset they abandoned the Ground, and, in great Confusion and Precipitation, retired to the Streets on the opposite Side. *Alvarado*, being now at Leisure to look about him, observed that there was at a small Distance, a very large Temple, the Towers and Ascent whereof were possessed by the Enemy; and thereupon he immediately detached some Companies to drive them from thence, and to post themselves there, in order to secure his Rear; which Orders, with little or no Difficulty, they soon performed, by reason that the *Indians* who were left to defend that Post, were already retiring, after the Example of the rest. He then, in order to make his Lodgment, drew up his Troops into one Body, making a Smoke from the Top of the above-mentioned Temple, either as a Signal for the other Captains, his Friends, to know where he was, or, by that Means, to gain their Applause for his successful Diligence.

Soon after came up, by a different Avenue, the Detachment properly belonging to *Christoval de Olid*, but then under the Command of General *Cortes* himself; and the confused Throng of *Mexicans* which fled before him into that Square, fell in upon the Battalion which *Alvarado* had, though with another Design, just before drawn up in Order of Battle; where those Wretches, being attacked on every Side, most of them perished: And the like Fate attended those who were driven in thither by *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, who likewise presently after arrived.

THOSE of the Enemy who had retired to the Streets which led to the other Parts of the City, perceiving that the whole Force of the *Spaniards* was united, ran away with the utmost Precipitation

tation to defend the Person of their Prince, believing themselves now come to the last Conflict; whereby the *Spanish* General had an Opportunity to lodge himself to the best Advantage without any Opposition or Interruption: Which he did, and posted some Companies in the adjacent Streets to secure his Quarters from the Enemies Insults, ordering the Commanders of the Brigantines and Canoes to ply continually about the three Causeways, and to give him Notice of whatever should occur worth Observation.

It was at the same Time absolutely requisite to clear the Place from the dead Bodies; and several Companies of the Confederate *Indians* were employed to cast them into the Canals of those Streets where the Water was deepest; but those *Indians* had *Spanish* Overseers and Commanders, to prevent their running away with their wretched Burdens to make a Banquet of human Flesh, which was the detestable Solemnity with which those misguided People were ever wont to conclude the Celebration of their Victories: Notwithstanding which Precaution, it was not possible wholly to prevent that Abomination, yet they obstructed its Excess, and disguised that Toleration under the Mask of Ignorance.

THIS Night several Parties of miserable Peasants, more than half dead with Famine, came to the Quarters to surrender themselves, giving up their Liberty for Subsistence; and notwithstanding it was generally suspected that they had been dismissed as useless Mouths, yet their deplorable Condition raised such Commiseration in all the Beholders, that the General ordered them some Refreshment, that they might be enabled to seek their Livelihood abroad in the Country.

THE next Morning all the Streets within the Enemy's District were filled with armed *Indians*, but they were posted there only to cover those who were working upon the Fortifications, which they were making for their ultimate Retreat; and *Cortes* perceiving that they did not attempt any Hostilities, nor by any of their usual Insults offer to provoke him, suspended the Attack which he at first had determined, being inclined once more to offer them Peace, as supposing that they might be now disposed to come to an Accommodation, or at least, that they would be convinced that he did not thirst after their Destruction, since he proffered them favourable Conditions at a Juncture when his whole Power was united in the very Heart of their City, the greatest Part whereof was already in his Possession. The Message was carried by three or four of the principal Prisoners, and *Cortes* was impatiently waiting for an Answer, as not doubting but that the Proposal would be gladly received, because it was observed that those Multitudes of the Populace who were wont to be always ready to advance to defend the Streets, were intirely withdrawn.

THE Quarter to which *Guatimozin* with his Ministers, Nobles, and Soldiery, was retired, was a very spacious Angle of the City, the greatest Part whereof was defended by its bordering upon the Lake; and the rest, which was at no great Distance from the great Square of *Tlateleuco*, was at every Avenue fortified by a sort of strong Wall, made of huge Planks and Fascines, which reached the Buildings on either Side of those respective Streets, before each of which was a broad and deep Ditch full of Water, which they had dug across the Streets to give a Current to the Waters of the Canals.

nals. The ensuing Morning *Cortes*, followed by the greatest Part of the *Spaniards*, marched out to view the Ground, which the Enemy had forsaken, and advanced till he came within Sight of those Fortifications, which he found covered with an incredible Multitude of Men in Arms, but who yet seemed to be disposed to Peace; for they neither sounded their warlike Instruments, nor made the accustomed Outcries. The General drew back, and returned several times with the *Spaniards*, without once offering to molest or provoke them; and it appeared that the *Mexicans* had Orders to do the like, because they still pointed their Weapons downwards, signifying, by their Silence, and Stilness, that the Treaty which occasioned that sort of Truce was no way disagreeable to them.

It was very remarkable upon this Occasion with what Care they endeavoured to disguise their Distress, and conceal the Necessities under which they laboured, and what Ostentation they used to make the *Spaniards* believe, that notwithstanding they had no Aversion to the Overtures of Peace, it was not through Want of Means or Courage to prosecute the War, that they were willing to accept it. They sat in publick upon the Works to eat, and flung Cakes of *Maiz* among the common People, to shew that they had Plenty of Provisions; and from time to time several of their Chiefs sallied out, and challenged the stoutest Champion of the *Spaniards* to a single Combat: But those Challengers did not long continue there, soon retiring in again, as well pleased with the Bravado, as they could have been with the Victory, had they obtained it. One of them indeed advanced near the Place where *Cortes* stood, and by the Ornaments of his Nakedness, seemed to be a Person of some Distinction; his Arms were a Sword and Buckler of

one of the *Spaniards*, whom they had sacrificed. This *Indian*, with the greatest Arrogance, persisted in his Defiance, insomuch that *Cortes*, quite out of Patience with his Noise, and presumptuous Behaviour, ordered his Interpreter to tell him, "That if he would bring ten others like himself, he would give Leave to that *Spaniard* (*pointing to his Page, who bore his Shield*) to engage them all at once." The *Mexican* was not insensible of the Contempt; but, without seeming to take any Notice of it, continued his Defiance with still greater Insolence; and the Page, whose Name was *Juan Nunez de Mercado*, a Youth about sixteen, or at most seventeen Years of Age, supposing that this Affair regarded him, since his Master had directly pointed him out, without being observed got out of the Croud, and, making the best Shift he could to get over the Ditch, attacked the Challenger, who stood ready prepared; but the Page, receiving the first Blow upon his Shield, at the same Instant gave his Adversary so bold and vigorous a Thrust, that, without needing a second Wound, he brought him down dead upon the Spot. This Action was greatly applauded by the *Spaniards*, and admired by the Enemy. The Page, immediately after his Exploit, returned, and threw down the Sword and Buckler of the vanquished *Mexican* at the General's Feet, who was so highly pleased with such early Valour, that he embraced him with great Tendernefs, and, with his own Hand, girt on upon him that Sword which with such Bravery he had won, and enhanced the Reputation which he had acquired by his Merit, by admitting him, though so young, into the Conversation of the gravest and most distinguished Persons in the Army.

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DURING the three or four Days Suspension of Arms, *Guatimozin* held several Councils to deliberate on the Overtures of Peace which had been made him, and the Majority voted for the admitting the Treaty, being sensible of the miserable Condition to which they were already reduced; while others, conforming their Suffrages to the Inclination of their Sovereign, shewed themselves willing to continue the War; but the detestable idolatrous Priests, whose Opinions were looked upon by those deluded People as the immediate and absolute Commands of their false Deities, supported the lesser Number, assuring Victory with dark and mysterious Menaces, and, like Oracles, inspiring the whole Assembly with the same diabolical Fury which possessed their own Breasts. Upon this it was unanimously resolved to prosecute the War, and immediately to renew their Hostilities, while *Guatimozin* disguised his Obstinacy under the specious Pretext of Obedience to his Gods; but before he broke up the Council, he gave Orders, that all the *Piraguas* and *Canoes* should retire to a certain sort of Bay, which the Lake made in that Part of the City, in order to secure a Retreat, in case they should be driven to Extremity.

THIS Order was instantly put in Execution, and an incredible Number of those Vessels made to that Bay, with no more People in them than were just necessary to conduct them thither; of which Motion immediate Notice was sent from the *Spaniards*, who were upon the Lake, to *Cortes*, who, without Hesitation, presently concluded, That the *Mexicans* were using those Precautions with no other View than to secure their Prince's Person, leaving the War still on Foot, and the Possession of the City

to be disputed. Hereupon he appointed *Gonzalo de Sandoval* for Commander in Chief of all the Brigantines, with Orders to surround the Bay at a Distance, and to have a watchful Eye upon whatever Motion the Enemy should happen to make. Soon after he advanced with his Troops, with a Design of approaching their Fortifications, and to forward the Peace by the Appearance of War. But the Enemy had already received Orders to defend themselves, and before the advanced Guard of the *Spaniards* came up, the *Indians* declared the Breach of the Treaty by their hostile Cries, and with a steady and resolute Countenance prepared for the Encounter; but it presently appeared, that their Haughtiness and Courage began to fail them: For they had no sooner perceived the terrible Havock which the first Discharges of the Cannon made in their wooden Fortification, which they had foolishly imagined to be impenetrable, but they became sensible of their Danger, and, according to Appearances, they sent Notice thereof to *Guatimozin*; for it was not long before they made Signs of demanding a Parley, by hanging out white Cloths, and very frequently repeating the Word *Peace*.

THEY were given to understand by the Interpreters, that whoever had any Proposals to offer from their Prince, might approach; upon which Assurance three or four *Mexicans*, who by their Apparel seemed to be Persons of some Note, appeared on the further Side of the Ditch. These Deputies, having first made their accustomed Humiliations, with an affected Gravity, told *Cortes*,
“ That the Supreme Majesty of *Guatimozin*, their
“ Lord and Sovereign, had named them his Ser-
“ vants to treat of an amicable Accommodation,
“ and had sent them to hear what Proposals the
“ Captain

“ Captain of the *Spaniards* had to make, in order
“ to inform his *Mexican* Majesty of the Articles
“ of the Capitulation.” *Cortes* reply’d, “ That
“ his real and only View was Peace, and that not-
“ withstanding he had it in his Power to give Laws
“ to those who so long had refused to hearken to
“ Reason, yet he once more offered them Peace,
“ and was ready to renew the Treaty which they
“ had broken : But that Affairs of this Nature
“ were difficult to be adjusted by third Persons,
“ wherefore it was requisite that their Prince should
“ either appear in Person, or at least that he should
“ approach with his Counsellors and Ministers
“ nearer at hand, in order to be the more conve-
“ niently consulted, in case any Dispute or Diffi-
“ culty should arise ; assuring them, that he was
“ fully disposed to agree to every thing that was
“ not repugnant or injurious to the superior Autho-
“ rity of his own Sovereign ; with which View he
“ promised upon his Word of Honour, (which he
“ also confirmed by an Oath) That he would not
“ only, on his Part, cause all Hostilities to cease,
“ but would likewise take particular Care, that
“ his Royal Person should be in the greatest Se-
“ curity, and that he should be treated with all
“ the Deference and Respect due to the *Mexican*
“ Emperor.”

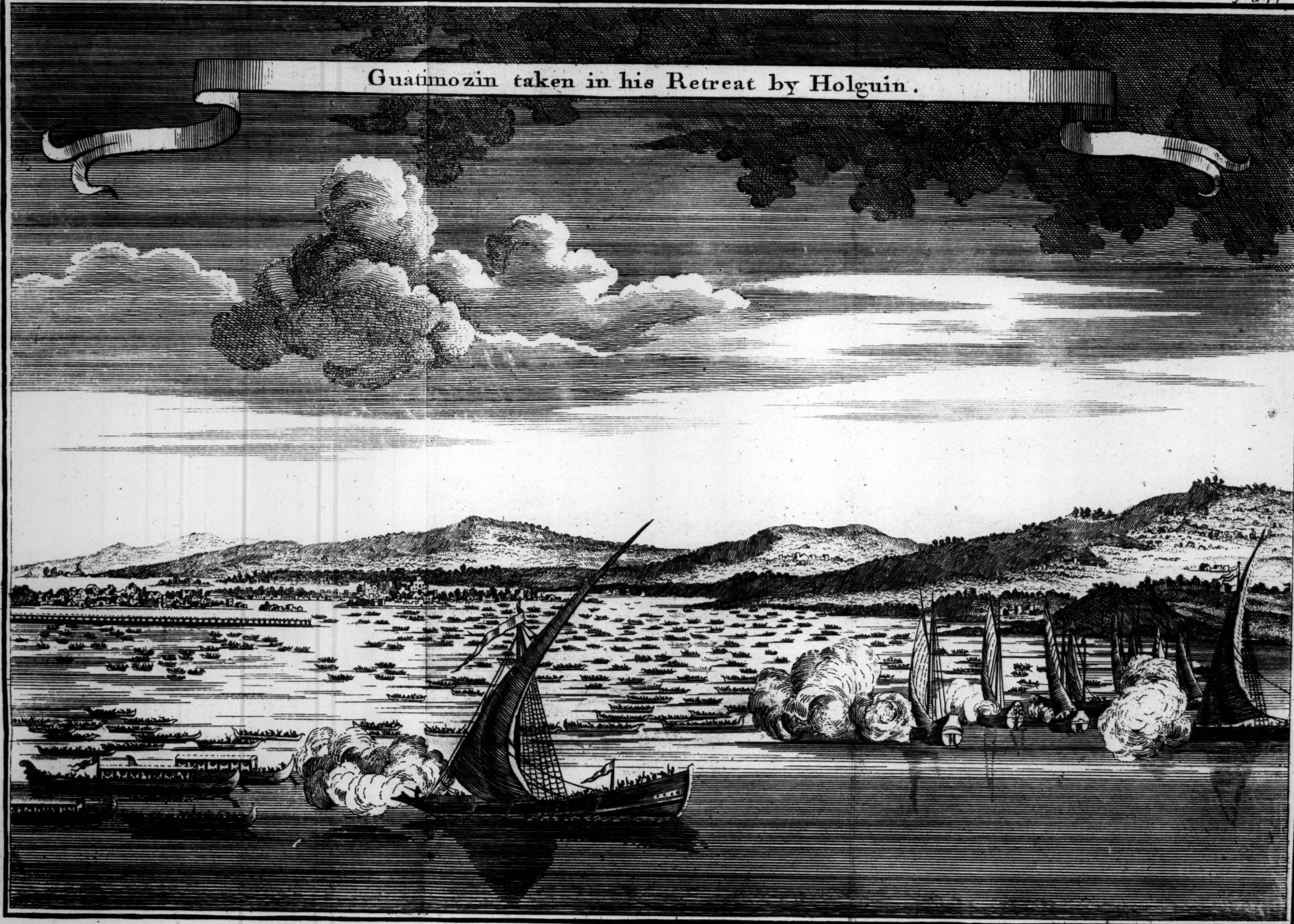
THE Deputies upon this immediately retired, seeming very well satisfied with this Answer ; and the same Evening returned to the same Place, with a Message to *Cortes* ; telling him, “ That his
“ *Mexican* Majesty would not fail of coming thi-
“ ther the next Day, with his Ministers and At-
“ tendants, to be near at hand to take Cognizance
“ of the Articles of the Treaty.” His real In-
tent was, with various Pretexts, to continue and

prolong the Conferences, till all the *Piraguas* and Canoes could be got together in a Readiness, in order to secure his Retreat, which had been already positively resolved on: And accordingly the same Messengers returned again at the Hour appointed, pretending, "That a certain unforeseen Accident" had prevented their Prince from keeping his "Word, and that he could not possibly come till" "the Morrow." After this, *Guatimozin* again put off his Assignation, on Pretence of first adjusting some Points and Conditions relating to the Ceremonies and Formalities of that Interview; and, in a Word, four Days passed in these Excuses and Delays: Nor was the Artifice discovered till somewhat later than it should have been; for *Cortes* firmly believed that they really desired Peace, founding that Belief upon the Exigence of their present Condition, and had actually made some Preparations for the Reception of *Guatimozin* with State and Magnificence. But when Information was brought him of what passed in the Lake, he was inwardly ashamed of his having suffered himself to be so imposed upon, and for having retained so good an Opinion of the Sincerity of those Barbarians, after so many Delays, and could not forbear breaking out into Threats against them; shewing that Anger and Resentment, to conceal his Confusion, and seeming sensible of the Difference there is between being openly insulted, and deceitfully surprized.

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Guatimozin taken in his Retreat by Holguin.



C H A P. XXV.

The Mexicans attempt to make their Retreat by the Lake. They engage the Brigantines with their Canoes, in order to facilitate Guatimozin's Escape. He is made Prisoner, and the City surrenders.

THE Day being come, which Cortes had appointed the Mexican Deputies, as the utmost Period of Time he would allow them to resolve in, Gonzalo de Sandoval discovered, at the Dawn of the Morning, great Multitudes of Mexicans with all imaginable Diligence embarking on board the Canoes, which were in the Bay. Of this Motion he sent immediate Notice to Cortes, and getting together the Brigantines which were distributed in divers Creeks, he slowly made towards them 'till he was near enough to play his Artillery. At the same time the Canoes of the Enemy, on board of which were all the Nobility, and almost all the principal Persons of the City, began to move, they having unanimously resolved to make their last Efforts against the Brigantines, and at all Hazards to maintain the Fight, till their Prince had made his Retreat; after which they were to disperse and follow him by several Ways. Accordingly they put this Design in Execution, attacking the Brigantines with such Vigour, that without being any wise dismayed at the Havock the Canon made among them at a Distance, they undauntedly advanced to receive the Strokes of Swords and Lances. But at the same time that the *Mexicans* were engaging with such extraordinary Fury, Gonzalo de Sandoval observed, that from the farthest Part of the

the Bay, six or seven *Piraguas*, with the utmost Force of Oars, were making the best of their Way; upon which he immediately ordered Captain *Garcia de Holguin* to chase them with his Brigantine, and, with as little Damage as possible, to endeavour to take them.

HE pitched upon *Holguin* for this Action, as well for the Confidence he had in his Courage and Diligence, as for the great Swiftneſs of his Veſſel, which Difference of that Brigantine from the reſt, might perhaps depend upon the Strength and Dexterity of his Rowers; or probably was rather owing to the Goodneſs of her Make, by which ſhe was more obedient to the Oars; a Circumſtance of no ſmall Advantage and Importance in thoſe Veſſels. That Captain, without loſing a Moment's Time, more than was juſt neceſſary for tacking about, and for the Rowers to take Breath, uſed ſuch extraordinary Diligence, that he ſoon overtook them; when turning the Head of his Brigantine, he fell in upon the foremoſt *Piragua*, which ſeemed to command the reſt. They all at once ceaſed from rowing, and lay upon their Oars, when they found themſelves attacked; and ſome of thoſe who were in the firſt *Piragua*, called out amain to the Brigantine not to fire; ſaying, the Royal Perſon of his *Mexican* Majeſty was on board that Veſſel; which Words were interpreted by ſome *Spaniſh* Soldiers, who began to have a ſmall Smattering of the *Mexican* Language: and the better to make themſelves underſtood, they flung down their Arms, accompanying their Requeſt with all the Demonſtrations of People who ſurrendered. Upon this, the Brigantines boarded the *Piragua*, into which *Garcia de Holguin*, with ſome of the *Spaniards*, immediately leaped, in order to ſecure the Prize. *Guatimozin* inſtantly advanced, and, diſtinguiſhing the Captain

Captain by the Respect paid him by the rest, said, *I am your Prisoner, and ready to go whithersoever you think fit to conduct me: All I have to desire of you, is, that some Regard may be had to the Honour of the Empress my Consort, and to that of the Women who accompany her.* He then passed into the Brigantine, and gave his Hand to that Princess to help her up; and was so much Master of himself, and so far from being in any Consternation, that perceiving *Holguin* to be in some Concern about the other *Piraguas*, he, with great Sedateness of Countenance, added, *You have no Occasion, Sir, to give yourself any Trouble concerning those my Followers, for they will all come to die at the Feet of their Prince:* and upon the first Signal he made them, they let their Weapons drop out of their Hands, and followed the Brigantine as Prisoners, in Obedience to their Sovereign's Command.

GONZALO DE SANDOVAL was all that time hotly engaged with the Canoes, and, by the Resistance he met with, he became sensible of the Quality of those who defended them, and of the great Courage and Fidelity of the *Mexican* Nobility; who, at the Hazard of their own Lives, had undertaken to secure their Prince's Liberty. But the Conflict was of no long Continuance, because they soon had Notice of his being taken; which they no sooner understood, but their loud military Cries were converted into dolorous, yet less noisy Lamentations. They did not only surrender with little or no Resistance, but several of the Nobility requested that they might be taken on board the Brigantines, to follow the Fortune of their Prince.

GARCIA DE HOLGUIN came up at the same time, having first dispatched away a Canoe with the News to *Cortes*; and without bearing down too near upon *Sandoval's* Brigantine, he gave him, as he passed
by

by, a brief Account of what had happened: but perceiving that he was desirous of taking Charge of that important Prisoner, he made the best of his Way, lest *Sandoval* should send him an Order to that Purpose, and his refusing to obey, should be looked upon as a Crime.

THE *Spaniards* in the City were, in the mean while, carrying on their Attack against the wooden Fortifications, and the *Mexicans* who had undertaken to defend it, in order to make a Diversion on that Side, maintain'd their Ground with notable Courage and Resolution, till being informed by their Sentinels of the Misfortune of the *Piraguas* which attended *Guatimozin*, they, more like Men astonished than terrified, retired in Confusion and Disorder.

THE Occasion of that sudden Change was soon known: for at that very Instant arrived the Canoe sent by *Holguin*; and *Cortes*, lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven, as acknowledging the Supreme Author of all his Fortune and Success, ordered his Captains to keep their Ground within View of the Fortifications, without attempting any thing till further Instructions; sending at the same time two Companies of *Spaniards* to the Landing-place to guard the Royal Prisoner, and then went himself to receive him not far from the Quarters; which he did with very great Courtesy and Respect, Signs and Gestures serving instead of Words: to which *Guatimozin* made a Return in the same Language, endeavouring to conceal the Agitations of his Breast by a forced Complaisance.

BEING come to the Entrance into the General's Quarters, they all made a Stop, and *Guatimozin*, with the Empress, went in first, affecting to shew that he had no Reluctance to his Confinement. They both immediately took their Seats; but that Prince,
seeming

seeming to recollect himself, presently rose up again, and desired *Cortes* to sit down. He was, in these Beginnings of his Adversity, so much Master of himself, that knowing the Interpreters by the Place where they were posted, he began the Conversation, saying to the General, *Why do you delay, valiant and renowned Captain, with that Sword you wear by your Side, to take away my Life? Prisoners of my Rank are but a Burden to the Conqueror. Dispatch me then at once, and let me have at least the Satisfaction of dying by your Hand, since I could not obtain the Happiness of losing my Life in my Country's Defence.*

HE would gladly have proceeded; but here all his Constancy failed him, and only his Tears uttered the rest, putting a Stop to his Words, and forcing their way thro' his unwilling Eyes. His Royal Comfort bore him Company with less Reserve, and *Cortes* found himself obliged to do Violence to his Pity and Compassion, to avoid following their Example: but after allowing those Illustrious Prisoners some Time to vent their Sorrow, he answered *Guatimozin*, " That he was not his Prisoner, nor was
 " his Greatness fallen into so inglorious a Condition
 " as that; but that he was Prisoner to a Monarch
 " so great and powerful, that the whole Universe
 " had no one Potentate who was his Superior in any
 " Respect, and so good and bountiful withal, that,
 " from his Royal Clemency, he might not only
 " hope to regain his lost Liberty, but even the
 " Empire of his Ancestors, with the glorious Addition of his Friendship: And that, in the mean
 " while, till he could receive his Sovereign's Instructions, he should be respected by the *Spaniards*, and treated among them in such a Manner, that he should not miss his own *Mexican*
 " Subjects." *Cortes* would have proceeded to
 comfort

comfort him with some Examples of other unfortunate Princes, but *Guatimozin* was then too heavily oppressed with Grief to admit of any Consolation; for which Reason the General, fearing that he should rather mortify, than appease him, desisted for the present; consolatory Words and Persuasions being of little Force or Efficacy to make any Impressions upon the Minds of dethroned Potentates; neither is it an easy matter to find Refiguration in those Hearts which are ignorant of the True God.

GUATIMOZIN was a Prince about twenty-three, or twenty-four Years of Age, so brave, that, at those Years, he had by his Exploits, and Victories in the Field, risen to those Honours which qualified the Nobles to ascend the Throne. He was, as to his Person, extremely well proportioned, tall, yet robust and strong built, and of so fair a Complexion, that among those of his own Nation, he looked like one of a different Climate. His Face, which suited well the rest, discovered a haughty Mind, and was so habituated to command Respect, that even amidst the inward Agitations of his Soul, he lost nothing of the Majesty of his Air. The Empress, who was about the same Age, by the Gracefulness of her Carriage, and the Vivacity of her Mien, attracted the Eyes of all; but her Beauty was rather manly and majestic, than delicate, looking well at the first Sight; which Agreeableness soon diminished, though the Majesty of her Presence still continued. She was Niece to the Great *Motexuma*, or, as some say, his Daughter; which when *Cortes* understood, he renewed the Offers of his best Service, professing himself obliged to pay to the Person of that Princess, the Veneration he owed to the Memory of that Monarch.

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IN the mean while he thought it necessary to return to his Troops, in order to reduce that Part of the City, which was still in the Enemy's Possession; so that breaking off the Conversation for the present, he very courteously took Leave of his Royal Prisoners, giving them in Charge to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, with a sufficient Guard; but before his Departure, Word was brought him, that *Guatimozin* desired to speak with him; his Design, as it presently appeared, being to intercede for the *Mexicans*, his late Vassals. When the General came, that Prince, in the most pressing Terms, conjured him, *not to injure or misuse them; since they only wanted the Knowledge of his being a Prisoner, to induce them to surrender.* He had so much Presence of Mind, that he readily guessed at the Occasion of the General's Departure, and in the midst of his Afflictions had the Welfare and Preservation of his Subjects at Heart: A Care truly worthy of a princely Mind! And notwithstanding *Cortes* gave him Assurances that he would treat them with Lenity, yet he earnestly desired Permission for one of his own Ministers to go along with him, to dispose the *Mexican* Troops, and the rest of his Subjects to submit, and to tell them from him, "That they
" should obey the General of the *Spaniards*, since it
" was not reasonable or prudent in them to in-
" cense a Person who had their Prince in his
" Power, or refuse to conform themselves to the
" Decrees of their Deities."

CORTES found the Army in the same Posture in which he had left it, nor had the least Alteration happened during his Absence; for the Enemy, who had retired upon the first Consternation they had been put into, by the News of their Emperor's being taken, had neither Courage enough left to defend themselves, nor Judgment to capitulate.

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Guatimozin's Minister entered their Quarters, and immediately upon his acquainting them with the Orders he brought, they threw down their Arms, and submitted.

By the Mediation of that Minister, it was agreed, that they should march out without Arms or Baggage, which they immediately put in Execution after so precipitate a Manner, that in a few Moments the Place was evacuated. It raised Admiration in the Beholders, to see the Multitudes of military Men that still remained, after so many Defeats, and such considerable Losses. Great Care was taken to prevent their being any way molested or ill used in their Retreat; and such Deference and Regard was paid to the General's Orders, that there was not so much as an opprobrious or injurious Word heard among the Confederate *Indians*, who so mortally hated the *Mexicans*.

THE Troops then marched into that remaining Part of the City, where they found nothing but miserable Objects, horrible to the Sight, and dreadful even to the Thought; some sick and disabled Wretches, who could not follow the rest, and others grievously wounded, all calling upon Death to relieve them from their Misery, and exclaiming against the unseasonable Clemency of the Conquerors: But nothing made so great an Impression upon the *Spaniards*, and filled their Souls with Horror so much, as the Sight of certain Courts, and deserted Houses, where the *Indians* had heaped up the Bodies of all the Men of Note who had been slain in Battle, in order at Leisure to celebrate their Funeral Obsequies; from whence proceeded such an intolerable Stench, that they were even afraid to breathe; and, in Effect, the Air was little less than infected therewith, which obliged them to hasten their

their Retreat. *Cortes* having assigned Quarters to *Gonzalo de Sandoval*, and *Pedro de Alvarado*, at some Distance from that contagious Place, and given what other Orders he thought requisite, retired with his Prisoners to *Cuyoacan*, (taking with him the Body of Troops commanded by *Christoval de Olid*) till the City could be cleansed and freed from those Horrors; whither in a few Days after he returned, to consider of the properest Means to establish and maintain his Conquest, and to take necessary Precautions and Measures with regard to the Consequences which might attend this prosperous Expedition.

THE Imprisonment of *Guatimozin*, and the intire Reduction of *Mexico*, happened on the thirteenth of *August* in the Year 1521, being the Day of *St. Hypolito*; in Memory whereof, the City, to this Day, celebrates the Festival of that great Martyr, under the Title of *Patron of Mexico*. The Siege continued ninety-three Days; and in the various Events of prosperous and adverse Fortune, the Judgment, intrepidity, and Constancy of *Cortes*, are equally to be admired with the indefatigable Perseverance and Valour of the *Spaniards*, and the Unanimity and Obedience of the Confederate Nations; allowing to the *Mexicans* the Honour of having defended their Prince and Country with the utmost Efforts of Bravery and Patience.

AFTER the taking of *Guatimozin*, and the Conquest of the Capital City of that vast Empire, the Tributary Princes first came in to acknowledge, and to do Homage to the Conqueror; and their Example was soon followed by the *Caziques* of the circumjacent Districts, some being induced to

it by the great Reputation of the *Spaniards*, and others compelled by Force of Arms; and in a short time was erected that noble Monarchy, which merits the Name of *New-Spain*, the great Emperor *Charles* the Fifth owing to *Hernan Cortes* no less than a new Crown, well worthy of his Imperial Temples. A wonderful Conquest, and a most illustrious Conqueror, among those which many Ages rarely produce, and of which there are but few Examples in History!

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